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### Pentagon welcomes Mordechai

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai (right) and US Defense Secretary William Cohen review an honor guard yesterday at a welcoming ceremony for Mordechai at the Pentagon. The US has agreed to provide increased funding for the Arrow missile system, the Nautilus laser system, and counterterrorism research. Story, Page 2.

## On eve of summit with Clinton

# PM: No halt to Har Homa

By SARAH HONIG and MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Construction at Jerusalem's Har Homa will proceed as planned, and so will work in the settlements, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said last night. But if acts of terrorism are not halted, he warned in an address to the Likud executive, Israel might consider "other, non-diplomatic, alternatives," emphasizing that he "will not act rashly."

This is also the message Netanyahu will give US President Bill Clinton at their meeting in Washington on Monday, the prime minister's spokesman said yesterday.

Netanyahu told his party chiefs that the Palestinian Authority had "not merely given the green light to terror, but it is also issuing demands for switching it off." (Palestinian Authority Chairman) Yasser Arafat's green light is still very much turned on.

Asked about Netanyahu's remarks, Arafat told Reuters in Gaza: "We are against terrorism—definite. The problem is how to push forward the peace process, especially how to stop the Israeli breaching of the agreement, especially the confiscation of land, the building on Abu Ghneim mountain (Har Homa), the Judaization of Jerusalem, and the closure."

Netanyahu's speech drew scathing criticism from Hassan Asfour, a senior Palestinian peace negotiator.

The statement is a new declaration to cancel the peace process and a new stone on the grave of the political process, Asfour told Reuters in Gaza. "It is a message to the United States that it has become necessary for the US

administration to react to these rude demands," he said.

Late last night, Arafat convened top PA officials in Gaza to discuss the stalemate with Israel.

Netanyahu's message on the eve of his departure to the US was unequivocally tough.

"No amount of pressure will make Israel veer from its policy that terror cannot be considered a

### Islamic Jihad claims Gaza suicide bomb attempts, Page 2

legitimate tool of negotiations," he said. "No peace process is compatible with blowing up cafes."

The prime minister's bureau yesterday dismissed reports that the Americans intend to pressure Netanyahu to halt construction in the territories and on Har Homa, as part of a US "formula" to speed up the final-status talks with the Palestinians.

At his meetings in Washington, Netanyahu is expected to emphasize that there will be no peace process unless terrorism ceases, spokesman Shai Bazak said; that the PA is keeping its commitment to fight terrorism is a basic condition for the existence of the peace process.

Only after this is made clear, will it be possible to discuss how to proceed with the peace process, including the initiatives raised by Netanyahu, Bazak said.

Netanyahu likened the situation Israel faces to "the hypothetical situation in which we would repeatedly threaten to send more

Baruch Goldsteins to slaughter Arabs, if they did not forthwith adhere fully to every last demand we put to them. Imagine if we had said that? How would the world have reacted? But this is precisely what the PA is doing to us. If we won't do exactly as they decree, then they will murder us."

He added that the "Palestinians paint terror as justified. The Jews are building in Jerusalem, as part of what they dub 'the terror of the bulldozer.' Against that, they say, there is no other answer but to unleash terror... They present us with demands, which according to their scenarios we are bound to fully meet, because if we won't, they will kill."

Netanyahu said that "some two weeks ago there was a very clear, unmistakable green light to terror and it indeed was renewed. That green light has not yet changed. Not only did the PA switch it on, but it is demanding a price for turning it off. This is not a situation which we can accept. We will absolutely not capitulate to terror or to threats of terror and will continue construction in Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria."

Netanyahu is to advance his departure to the United States on Sunday to meet with Jordan's King Hussein, who will be at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, for prostate surgery. From there he will proceed to Washington, where he is to meet with Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and address the AIPAC convention on Monday.

The prime minister's political adviser, Dore Gold, is to leave for Washington today to prepare for Netanyahu's visit.

## Israel drops extradition request for Abu Marzook

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN and NIEL KUTTLER

The government has canceled its request to the US to extradite Moussa Abu Marzook, the head of Hamas's political arm, saying the decision was made for security reasons.

Abu Marzook, who was arrested in the US in 1995, is wanted here

on suspicion of planning and financing terrorist attacks. A US court ruled in 1996 that there was cause to believe Abu Marzook was involved in 10 attacks between 1990 to 1994, in which 47 people were killed and 148 wounded.

But his extradition under the present circumstances, the Prime Minister's Office said, could harm the battle against the Hamas and

Islamic Jihad. Security sources expressed fear that Abu Marzook's extradition might trigger a wave of terrorist attacks or the kidnapping of soldiers or civilians to obtain his release.

US Attorney General Janet Reno said yesterday that Marzook will remain in US custody.

"He will remain in custody, pursuant to a detainer which has been

filed" by the US Immigration and Naturalization Service, she said. "This will essentially place Marzook in the position he was in before the Israeli government filed its extradition request."

Asked at her weekly Justice Department news briefing if there was any deadline for Abu

Continued on Page 15

## Hefetz tickets himself for using phone while driving

By RAINE MARCUS

Cellular phone users who are outraged by the NIS 750 fine for not using a speakerphone while driving can now commiserate with Insp. Gen. Assaf Hefetz, who yesterday fined himself after he was spotted breaking the law by a passing motorist.

The driver, phoned Army Radio, which reported the story yesterday morning.

At first, the police spokesman explained away the embarrassing situation by saying Hefetz is hard of hearing and has difficulty hearing the speakerphone in his car. And anyway,

added the spokesman, Hefetz still had his two hands on the steering wheel, balancing the offending object between his shoulder and ear.

Yes, Hefetz does have a hearing problem. But today's car speakerphones, especially the sophisticated ones with an external antenna fitted into senior police officers' vehicles, are loud enough to awaken the dead. Most cellular phones can also be fitted with a personal earphone.

Hefetz, realizing he was in an awkward situation, immediately announced that he would write himself a ticket and pay the NIS 750 fine, introduced several months ago to crack down on the dangerous practice.

## NIS 250m. for 50th anniversary celebrations

The cabinet this week approved NIS 250 million to stage the state's 50th anniversary celebrations next year.

NIS 50 million will be transferred this year to the government's Association for Jubilee Celebrations, and the rest of the allocation will be paid next year.

Tens of millions of shekels are expected to be recovered via ticket sales to and sponsorship of various events slated for 1998.

The ministerial committee for symbols and ceremonies, headed by Tourism Minister Moshe Katzav, is to meet next week for its first serious discussion of proposals to mark the anniversary.



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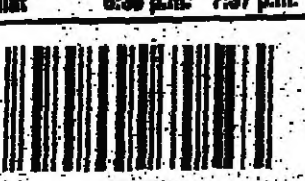
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## NEWS

in brief

## Seven Arabs beaten, humiliated by PA police

Seven Israeli Arabs were arrested by Palestinian policemen in Ramallah on Wednesday night, and taken to a lockup where they were humiliated and their heads were shaved. They were released yesterday morning.

The seven, eastern Jerusalem residents, who have vehicles with Israeli license plates, were arrested ostensibly for traffic violations. The Palestinian policemen began hitting one driver, and when the others came to his rescue, they, too, were beaten.

The seven were then taken to a lockup where they were accused of being traitors because they are Israeli citizens.

The seven filed a complaint with Jerusalem police yesterday morning.

## 30 arrested for stone-throwing

Thirty Arab schoolchildren were arrested yesterday for throwing stones and causing damage in East Talpiot on Monday. Police said the group, from the Arab village of Jebel Mukhabber opposite East Talpiot, confessed to the incident, in which damage was caused to houses and cars of Jewish residents. The parents of the schoolchildren had to pay NIS 500 bail for each child, whom police said they identified from the school bags they had left behind on the hills from where they threw the stones. Additional suspects are being sought, police said.

## Palestinians plan eastern J'lem investment

Palestinian businessmen are planning to invest at least \$200 million to renovate property and revitalize businesses in eastern Jerusalem in an effort to reassert Arab claims to the area.

"Our objective is to buttress the Arab identity of Jerusalem and stand against Israel's settlement policy and attempts to Judaize the city," said Munech Masri, one of three shareholders in the planned company.

He refused to say where the firm would be located or how it would channel money to Arab residents of Jerusalem. He said the firm will be officially launched after a Saturday meeting of Palestinian businessmen in Amman.

## Settlers aim to boost PM on eve of US visit

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH and MICHAEL YUDELMAN

The Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is trying to schedule a meeting with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on the eve of his departure to Washington, to stress the importance of not bowing to US pressure to freeze construction in Judea and Samaria.

The council's move is being made under the slogans, "Judea and Samaria is the heartland of Israel," and "We will stand behind you like a mountain (Har) and a wall (Homa)."

"The US is once again floating the idea that Arafat's promises to stop terror should be contingent

on stopping all building in Judea and Samaria," said Yechiel Leiter, head of the council's foreign desk.

Terror attacks didn't stop as a result of the building freeze in Judea and Samaria over the past four years, he said. The current US administration, said Leiter, is reminiscent of the "bullying years" of the Bush administration.

Meanwhile, Netanyahu's trip to Washington next week was criticized by MK Ze'ev Begin, said Begin. Netanyahu will come in to American pressure.

"Experience has taught us that the prime minister's resistance to pressures during his trips to the US is not notable," Begin said.

## US military cooperation to expand

By HILLEL KUTTLER

WASHINGTON - The Pentagon agreed yesterday to expand military cooperation with Israel in the areas of joint missile development and counterterrorism.

The US will add "tens of millions" of dollars to its funding for the joint development of the Arrow anti-missile missile and Nautilus laser systems, Defense Secretary William Cohen said.

The precise amounts will be discussed in follow-up meetings at the Pentagon today, he added.

The US is also planning to contribute \$25 million more to Israeli counterterrorism

## Missile development, counterterrorism highlighted

research and development efforts in the two countries, Biran said. That amount is on top of the \$100m. President Clinton pledged in March 1996 during his visit to Israel, following the Sharm-el-Sheikh counterterrorism summit.

Cohen also agreed to an Israeli request for stockpiling weapons and ammunition in the US that Israel could speedily purchase and acquire at a time of emergency. The two sides are working on that list now, Biran said.

The US and Israel have not yet come to

agreement on sharing airborne intelligence, Biran said, but discussions are continuing.

In a statement released by the Pentagon, Cohen reaffirmed the US commitment to maintaining Israel's qualitative edge and to "provide for adequate readiness."

"The answers are more than satisfactory. A very good working relationship was established," Mordechai said, of his first meeting with the new Pentagon chief.

Mordechai also said that at meetings later in the day with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and national security

adviser Sandy Berger he would share additional information on Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's allegedly acceding to terrorist attacks against Israel.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon notified Congress on Wednesday that Israel plans to buy 15 US UH-60L Blackhawk military helicopters and 34 helicopter engines for an estimated \$200 million, Reuter reported.

"The sale will contribute to the foreign policy and national security of the United States by helping to improve the security of a friendly country which has been, and continues to be, an important force for political stability and economic progress in the Middle East," the Pentagon said.

The announcement did not say how Israel would pay for the helicopters, but such a large transfer could be made as part of annual US military aid to Israel.

## Yesha council: IDF offering weak response to attacks

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

There has been a sharp increase in stone throwing and firebombing incidents in Judea and Samaria during the past two weeks, a settlement leader said yesterday.

"The situation is reminiscent of the beginning of the Intifada. There is barely a reaction on the part of the IDF, other than to continue to station a jeep here and there," Aharon Domb, secretary-general of the Council of Jewish Communities of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, told Arutz 7.

Yesterday morning, a resident of Kiryat Arba was lightly hurt when he lost control of his car, after being hit by stones on the Halhoul bypass road.

Hebron resident Baruch Marzel, who was driving nearby when the incident occurred, said the car was hit by very large stones and totally wrecked.

Settlers also reported stone-throwing incidents in various areas in the Binyamin region. In Kiryat Sefer, residents said that Palestinians have also begun placing large obstacles on the road. When settlers get out of their cars to remove them, they are hit by a barrage of stones, they said.

Judea, and Samaria police, together with IDF soldiers, carried out a daring midnight raid on Wednesday in Kfar Azur in Area B, arresting five 17- and 18-year-old Palestinians suspected of throwing stones and firebombs.



Palestinian policemen try to prevent demonstrators from approaching Rachel's Tomb outside Bethlehem yesterday. (Brian Handberg)

## Islamic Jihad takes responsibility for botched suicide bombings

By JON BERNANKE

Islamic Jihad took responsibility yesterday for the two attempted suicide bombings in Gaza on Tuesday, in a leaflet that also accused its leadership of covering before the Palestinian Authority when it earlier denied

responsibility.

The leaflet in the name of the "Abu Ghneim Brigade" accused Abdullah Shami, the most public of Islamic Jihad's leaders in Gaza, of purposely lying when he denied the group's involvement at a Gaza press conference on Wednesday and accused the Israeli security services of staging them.

Ramadan Shalah, the Jihad leader in Lebanon, also said that the explosions were the work of Israeli intelligence, before two Jabalya refugee camp youths were identified as the perpetrators.

The leaflet was first seen in the West Bank, and Shami yesterday called it a fake, repeating his earlier claim that Islamic Jihad was not involved.

The leaflet said that the suicide attacks would continue "in response to the crimes against our people." Abu Ghneim is the Arabic name for Har Homa.

Shami was arrested after the

Beit Lid double bombing in January 1995 and held in Gaza. Prison without charges for six months, after a neighbor whom he knew well, was identified as one of the two bombers. On his release he startled Islamic militants by saying the time had come to find non-violent ways to work with the Palestinian Authority.

He addressed a rally for the first time since his release on March 21, in Khan Yunis. The rally was called to denounce Israeli settlement building on Har Homa. There were cheers when news of the Tel Aviv suicide attack was relayed during the rally.

Yesterday, security forces still investigating that attack, which killed three women, arrested prominent Nablus Hamas leader Hassan Yusuf at the Allenby bridge, as he was on his way to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, Israel Radio said.

The political connections of the

suicide bomber have not been verified and Hamas denied involvement.

After a hiatus of several days, university students and children released early from school participated yesterday morning in a protest at Rachel's Tomb outside Bethlehem which turned violent. The centerpiece of the planned peaceful demonstration was a black coffin containing "the peace process."

Opposite Har Homa, Israeli and Palestinian protesters yesterday afternoon held a press conference denouncing the infrastructure work being carried out there. "It is a provocation against all of us. The bulldozers are more dangerous than tanks," said Gush Shalom activist Uri Avnery.

"I don't think this is a crisis. I think it is a turning point. Our two concepts of peace have grown apart," said Palestinian Council member Salah Tasamari. PA Chairman Yasser Arafat, asked by reporters in Gaza about Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's call to quell violence, said yesterday that, "Netanyahu should stop the terrorism of settlements."

Item adds:

Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein yesterday petitioned the High Court of Justice to reverse the decision of the Northern District parole board to release early a senior Hamas activist, Mustafa Arouj. Justice Dorit Beinisch issued an interim injunction blocking the release, pending a hearing before three justices.

## TV SCHEDULE

The listings for CNN in Time are unconfirmed for Friday-Sunday inclusive due to the switch to daylight saving time in the US.

## Winning cards and numbers

The winning cards in yesterday's Mifal Hapais daily Chance draw were the ace of spades, ace of hearts, queen of diamonds, and nine of clubs.

The winning numbers in yesterday's Payis Hazak draw were as follows:

Ticket number 74069 won NIS 1 million. Ticket 415655 won the car. Tickets: 588830, 895853, 720400, 249130, 405712, 715838, and 107941 won NIS 5,000.

Winning NIS 1,000 were cards ending in 48623, 74553, 81541, 55549, 22531, 22531, 52827, 83696, 60258, 44031, 67658, 89632, 48788, 51142, 10788, 03033, 22663, 28173, 14048, and 79074. Cards ending in 383, 565, 962, and 624 won NIS 100. Those ending in 45, 68, 25, and 00 won NIS 30. Cards ending in 84 and 46 won NIS 20; and ending in 3 and 9 won NIS 10.

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## OPEN LETTER

To Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Clinton

Your Excellencies:

While fully appreciating your concerns for the safety of the Jewish people and for Middle East peace, now that the threat of annihilation again hangs over the Jews from implacable Islamist sources among her Muslim neighbors, this is to urge you to face this issue in its true spiritual dimensions, not only in its urgency, but in the lesser aspect of its security concerns.

However blindly today's academics, diplomats, media and politicians may disregard the Bible - and their own pledged word as Britain did her Balfour Declaration - both Israel and America were built on the Bible and are still preserved by and responsible for it. However militantly Islamists reject its rule in favor of their own and however foolishly Jewish and Christian apostates may distance themselves from the Bible's Divine wisdom and mandates, for ideas of men, Israel's long preservation and now restoration exactly fulfilling hundreds of explicit Bible prophecies, prove to anyone willing to face truth that the Bible is indeed the true word of the living God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of Israel, of Jesus and of creation.

Genesis 17:8-21 says clearly that by an unconditional eternal covenant with Abraham and his seed through Isaac, God gave the Jewish nation alone, "All the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession." In Leviticus 25:23 He calls it His land and forbids Israel ever to sell it. Israel has no more right to sell Judea, Samaria and Gaza as the Oslo Agreement pretended to do, than I have to sell the living room of my landlord's apartment. Isaiah 28:14-18 calls it an "agreement with hell" America has no right to invoke God's wrath on Israel - and herself - by seducing her to "sell" any of what Rome called "Palestine" (that Isaiah 14:31 says is now "dissolved"); or to defy true international law of the Balfour Declaration, by forbidding Israel to resettle its waste places.

The Bible prescribes what is necessary for Middle East (or any) peace; it also clearly proscribes what destroys peace. Genesis 12:3 shows what all history confirms. By it God promised the Jewish people, "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee, and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." To weaken Israel now is to invoke God's wrath and invite Arafat's "Jihad" war.

The great divide of all men, including Jews and those called "Christians," is between those who believe God's Word, the Jewish Scriptures, and those who disregard it. Men, leaders, churches or nations who defy it in favor of any delusory "peace process" or Oslo "covenant with death," do not avert peace, but an all-out Islamist "Jihad" "holy" war. Those who disregard His Word on this issue should read and ponder Psalm 2, toward which Rome is fast leading them.

Evangelist Grant B. Livingstone  
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Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani yesterday views the expansion of Tzur Hadassah in the Judean Hills. (Haas: Hama)

## Kahalani: Forces will not be increased along Green Line

By ARNOLD O'SULLIVAN

Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani, touring settlements in the Judean Hills yesterday, said the number of Border Police units patrolling the Green Line would not be increased, and residents must take a more active role in looking after their own security.

He added that the closure of the territories should be continued in light of warnings of more suicide attacks.

"There are still general warnings, nothing specific," Kahalani said. "But I think we have to continue the closure at this time and to reexamine the matter in another week or two."

Residents of the Eilat Valley and Mateh Yehuda Regional Council area have complained of increased security threats since the suicide bombing in Tel Aviv two weeks ago. Since there is no fence separating the

region from the West Bank, hundreds of illegal Palestinian laborers have been sneaking into Israel despite the closure.

Jerusalem police chief Cmdr. Yair Yitzhaki urged local police commanders to take action against Israelis employing or transporting the illegal workers. "When we bring them (illegal workers) to court they are usually released. You need to stop the contractors and those transporting the workers and confiscate their vehicles. If you do that they'll think twice," Yitzhaki said.

At least three settlements were alerted this week to a possible terrorist attack. Last year, three people were gunned down on the main highway along the valley in a drive-by shooting blamed on Islamic militants.

"The State of Israel won't give more forces to security. It can't take any more burden upon its shoulders," Kahalani told a

gathering of area residents during a stop at Kibbutz Netiv Halamed-Heh. "Everyone has to protect their own home. Our parents built the state, paved the roads - now it is up to us to guard them," he said.

"Our main goal in this area is for residents to protect themselves. There is no situation here where we will bring in more forces. We will be able to give the volunteers tools and that is the only good news I have. There won't be any sort of additional forces in the area."

The region is home to some 29,000 people and some settlements said they have no security organization whatsoever, because funds for their security officers have been cut.

"We are asking for money, but we are not getting what we need," said Meir Weisel, head of the Mateh Yehuda Regional Council. "We don't intend to give up. There won't be a situation where there is no paid security officer on each moshav."

## IAF: Cause of '96 crash unknown

By ARNOLD O'SULLIVAN

Moments before crashing in the Judean Desert last year, killing seven soldiers, an air force CH-53 transport helicopter veered 90 degrees into an irrecoverable dive, an IAF investigation in the crash determined.

The year-long investigation, which was completed yesterday, could not unequivocally determine whether the crash was the result of a technical malfunction or pilot error.

The Yasur 2000 helicopter crashed while on a training exercise in the Judean Desert on April 2, killing the pilot, copilot, and five soldiers. Two soldiers survived.

The US-made helicopter was the same type as the two that collided on their way to Lebanon two months ago, killing all 73 servicemen aboard.

Using computer-enhanced simulations and witness accounts, the investigators were able to piece together the final flight of the Yasur.

The examiners determined that the helicopter had just taken off when it suddenly veered radically. The investigators said this veering was either caused by a technical malfunction in the steering system or by a radical steering movement by one of the pilots. Since the helicopter was totally destroyed by fire after it crashed, there was virtually no evidence to aid in making a definitive conclusion.

The air force had said from the beginning that there was little chance of every knowing what happened in this case, the army said, the IAF will respond to the report as if both factors had caused. A complete sweep of the CH-53 steering system was carried out to locate potential malfunction sites. Also, pilots undergoing simulation training will now be introduced to the radical flight situation. This is being done so pilots become aware of the situation and can prevent them, the army said.

The investigation results will probably be shared with the

United States.

The IAF also took other steps it said were unrelated to the crash, but were in response to points raised during the investigation. These included purchasing flame-resistant fuel tanks for the helicopters, revamping maintenance procedures and coming up with short cuts for getting the injured to hospitals.

In a related matter, the commission of inquiry into the February 4 helicopter collision, headed by Maj. Gen. (res.) David Ivry, has started wrapping up its investigation. Yesterday it ended its hearings with the attorneys of officers who were warned that the results of the investigation could have direct bearing on them. Now the commission is involved in internal discussions, with the aim of consolidating the evidence and reaching conclusions and recommendations.

The commission has until April 15 to submit its final report to Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai.

## Northern towns douse lights in budget protest

By DAVID FUDGE

Street lights in most towns and villages near the Lebanese border were switched off last night, as communities intensified their protests against proposed budget cuts.

Confrontation Line mayors and council heads were continuing their sit-in in a tent they have pitched near Biranit, near the Lebanese border.

Ma'alot-Tarshiha Mayor Shlomo Buhbut, who heads the Forum of Confrontation Line Community Heads, said the protest would continue until demands are met. Sanctions include closing municipal services across the northern border, from Nahariya eastward.

Buhbut said ministerial budgets for the North are to be cut by over NIS 100 million this year. This would reduce services to the public in education, welfare, municipal affairs, and housing, he said. These cuts were planned despite

the government's promise to increase budgets, in line with the previous government's commitment to give northern residents additional help following Operation Grapes of Wrath, said Buhbut.

The Prime Minister's Office said in response that all ministries are adhering to the decision of the previous government.

Buhbut said the only minister to have contacted the forum since the beginning of the protest on Wednesday was National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon, who promised to raise the issue at today's cabinet meeting. The matter is also to be raised by the Knesset Finance Committee on Monday.

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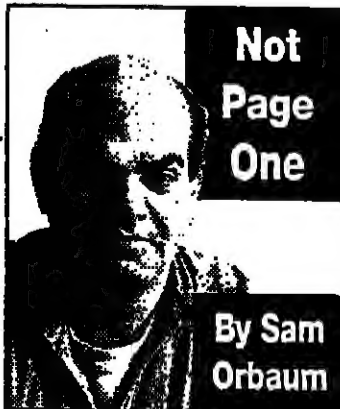
- Bids are invited for the supply and supervision of erection of electro-mechanical equipment, for the Kolchay Hasharon Regional Sewage Treatment Plant.
- The tender documents will be available from April 6, 1997, against payment of NIS 5,000 (non-refundable) at the offices of Hof Hasharon Regional Council.
- Bidders must prove that they, or the company they represent, have at least 5 (five) years of continuous experience in the design, manufacture and supervision of erection of equipment, of the type offered. Bidders must also satisfy other criteria, as specified in the tender documents.
- A tour for bidders will be held on April 16, 1997, leaving at 10 a.m., from the offices of Hof Hasharon Regional Council, Shafayim.
- Bids must be accompanied by bank guarantees, as detailed in the tender documents and addendum. Bids must be placed in the tenders box (in person only) at 12 noon on May 29, 1997, at which time the tender will be closed. At 12:15 p.m., the tenders box will be opened, in the presence of bidders.

Yosef Sagi  
Directorate Chairman  
Kolchay Hasharon Company

### Starting in Sunday's JERUSALEM POST



The Mommy Track  
By Allison Kaplan Sommer



Not Page One  
By Sam Orbaum

New columns by two of your favorite Post writers

SAM ORBAUM's sharp eye examines big and small issues every Sunday, Wednesday and Thursday

ALLISON KAPLAN SOMMER writes about the highs and lows of motherhood every Monday

## Arab states try for special UN session on Har Homa

By MARILYN HENRY and news agencies

NEW YORK — The Arab states are resurrecting a rarely used procedure from the Korean War era to try to convene an emergency session of the UN General Assembly to protest the Israeli construction of Har Homa.

The 22-member Arab group has asked for the special Assembly session under the terms of the 1950 "Uniting for Peace" resolution. That measure originally was intended to bypass the Security Council when the council had reached a stalemate and lacked the unanimity needed to promote the UN mission of "maintaining international peace and security."

David Peleg, the Israeli charge d'affaires, said "not only would an emergency special session not advance mutual understanding, but it would become a further polarization."

In the last month, there have been two Security Council debates and one in the assembly on the Israeli construction of Har Homa. In the council, the US twice vetoed resolutions that would have assailed Israel for the Jerusalem building project.

An emergency session would have no immediate practical effect, as assembly actions are not binding. But it could increase the international pressure on Israel and increase what diplomatic observers call its isolation.

A special session requires the consent of a majority of the 185 members of the UN. The members were being canvassed by Secretary-General Kofi A. Annan, and UN spokesman Fred Eckhard, said the session probably would take place next week.

There have been nine such special sessions since 1956. Four of them involved Israel: in 1956, on the Suez crisis; in 1967, after the Six Day War; in 1980, on the "question of Palestine"; and in 1982, on the "situation in the Arab occupied territories and the Syrian Golan Heights." The other sessions concerned the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary and its later invasion of Afghanistan, the 1958 government crisis in Lebanon, and crises in the Congo (1960) and Namibia (1981).

## Dear Prime Minister Netanyahu.

We wish to publicly applaud your firm stance on Jerusalem's Har Homa neighborhood. For the first time, in a long time, the government of Israel is making it perfectly clear that it will not succumb to pressure, that it will not compromise with terrorists.

We also want to express our deepest concern and anxiety over statements made by Clinton administration officials, that cessation of Palestinian terror should be linked to a halt on building in the Jewish communities of Yesha. These statements, made on the eve of your departure for Washington, suggest a return by the United States to the bullying of Israel policies which were the hallmark of the Bush administration.

We want to respectfully submit that you tell President Clinton, that:

\* Arafat has sold that bag of goods - that he will stop terror if we stop building - one too many times. That equation is offensive enough, but the cold fact is that when we stopped building, terror increased. The people of Israel may be tired of conflict, but they are not stupid and refuse to be duped again.

\* You were democratically elected to change the direction in which Oslo was taking the country, not continue it. Your refusal to capitulate to terrorism is morally right and it represents the will of the Israeli people.

\* Yesha is the cradle of Jewish civilization. To limit the rights of the Jews in Yesha is to negate the fundamentals upon which the State of Israel was founded.

\* Jerusalem is the capitol Israel. It always was and always will be. It was never the capitol of any other nation. The Arab onslaught against Jerusalem reveals that their implacable hatred for the Jewish State has in no way subsided. The leader of the free world should not lend credibility to it.

We will stand with you Mr. Prime Minister, like a HAR and like a HOMA if that is the message which President Clinton receives.

Go in peace, and return to us with a real commitment for peace, a peace based on eternal Jewish rights and national security, not with another illusory peace based on wishful thinking and empty promises.

Sincerely Yours,  
The Yesha Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, And Gaza.



# THE JERUSALEM POST

F. DAVID RADLER, Chairman, Board of Directors  
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## Real unity

The indefatigable Shimon Peres is at it again, practically jumping out of his suit in pursuit of a unity government. His warnings for Israel's future without himself in the cabinet have reached a fever pitch: We are "at the brink of war" and "bordering on catastrophe," says Peres.

Let us accept the proposition that the catastrophe upon which Israel borders is not Peres running out of time to lead Labor in a unity government, but a dangerous crisis in the peace process. Let us further accept — even strongly agree — that a political consensus within Israel is critical to weathering the final status talks ahead. The question remains whether a national unity government would foster such a consensus, or make this important goal even more elusive.

Peres has yet to demonstrate that the process of divvying up the cabinet has much to do with reaching a consensus. True, Peres repeatedly says that the current government's guidelines must be changed before he would enter into a unity government. But guidelines can be fudged without reaching the hard compromises that are necessary to achieve consensus. The process of forming a unity government could, paradoxically, lead the nation farther from consensus than it is today.

The likely first result of a unity government would be the departure of right-wing parties from the coalition. So instead of most of the right-wing being inside the government, it would become the opposition. In effect, such a unity government would likely continue to meet opposition from both extremes, but the main external opposition would be from the Right rather than the Left, as it is today. This is not a trade that anyone who wants the peace process to move forward would want, because it would likely give up the two-thirds majority vote this government has achieved for its agreement with the Palestinians, and return to the much narrower majority of the previous government. It is for this very reason some of the right-wings have concluded that any government would be better than this government.

The bottom line is that the Left does not have to be in the government to vote for agreements with the Palestinians; the Right does. Large majorities for controversial steps do not necessarily mean that a popular consensus has been reached, but they are much less corrosive to the national fabric than the narrow votes of the recent past. The goal for politicians who really

care about strengthening Israel's bargaining position while safeguarding the peace process should be a national unity policy, not a unity government. Such a policy would have to be produced by a negotiation similar to that completed between Labor MK Yossi Beilin and Likud MK Michael Eitan.

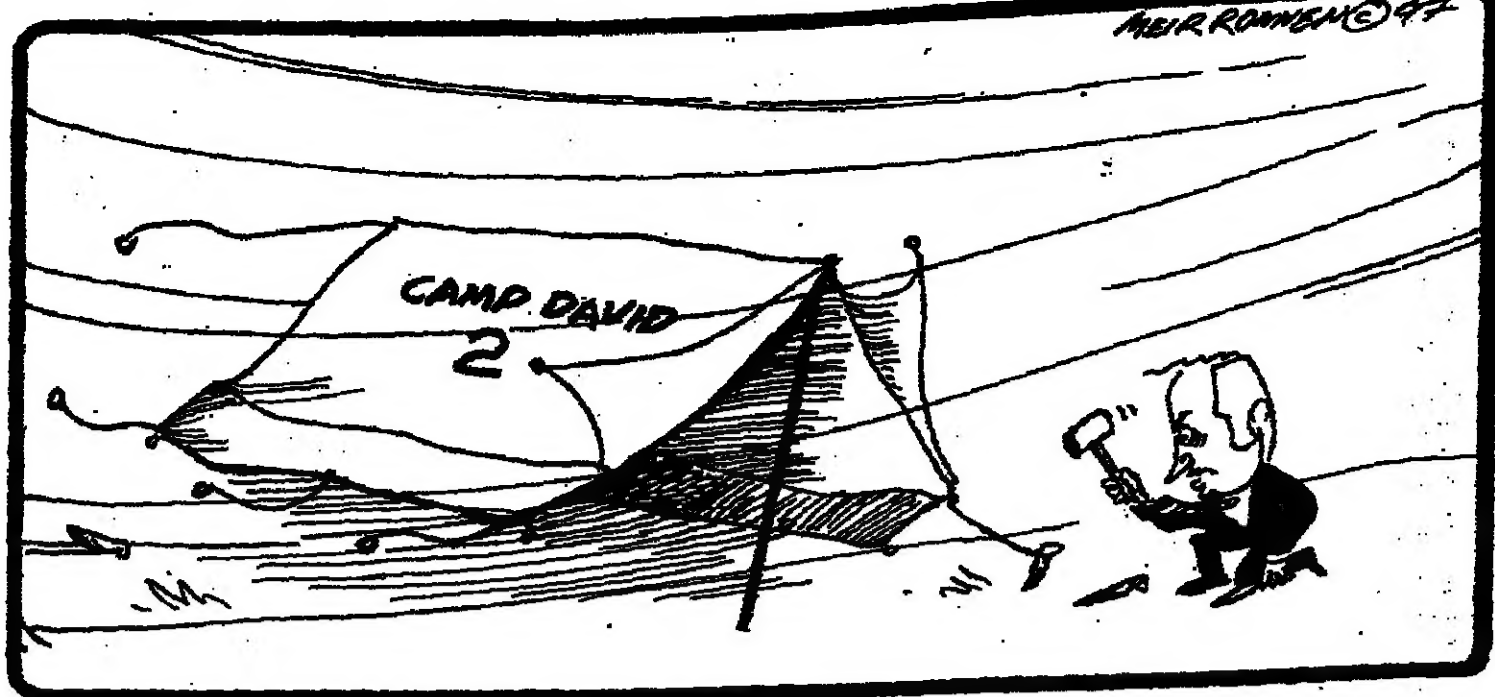
The results of a more official and higher-level attempt at reaching compromises may not be the same, but that is not the point. The point is presenting the Palestinians — and the people of Israel — with a united front on the critical issues ahead. If the leaders of the Labor Party could reach agreement with the government on key planks of Israel's strategy toward the peace process, yet remain outside the government, this would be best for the Labor Party and for Israeli democracy. Labor would be free to oppose the government on other issues, and to be a watchdog on implementation of the agreement. And Israeli democracy would not be sullied by the process of politicians arbitrarily divvying up the spoils of the last elections with little relation to what the voters actually had chosen.

It is no accident that there is strong, principled opposition to a unity government from within the Labor Party. In the shadow of the Bar-On Affair, most in Labor do not understand why it is in their party's interest to be associated with the Netanyahu government. It certainly does not seem to be in the interest of Ehud Barak, who would become third fiddle to Peres and Netanyahu, diminishing his status as heir-apparent in the Labor Party.

It is precisely the possible diminution and cooption of Barak, his probable rival in the 2000 elections, that makes a unity government politically attractive to Netanyahu. On the other hand, Netanyahu does not trust Peres to refrain from undermining the government from within, as he did under the last unity government in 1990.

In the end, shuffling the chairs around the cabinet table may serve this or that political interest, but it is not a substitute for the two major parties sitting down and reaching agreement on a joint approach to the final status talks with the Palestinians.

Under the previous government, both Israel and the Arab world were divided. Now there is more potential than in many years for Israel to be united, but instead it is the Arab world that is united against Israel. A unity policy is Israel's way out of this predicament; talk of a unity government is distracting political theater.



## First realism, now regression

**YITZHAK** Rabin and Shimon Peres were the first Israeli leaders to give priority to the Arab and Moslem worlds as the central arena of Israel's foreign policy. This reflected their belief that the end of the Cold War and the defeat of Saddam Hussein had kindled a spark of realism in large sectors of Arab opinion.

The US had preceded Israel in that conviction and was willing to put it to serious test. The conclusion of the Oslo accords with the Palestinians and the dramatic peace celebration on the White House lawn responded to what seemed to be a new opening toward a regional order in the Middle East.

The first results were sensational. The existing treaty with Egypt was followed by a peace treaty with Jordan; this was celebrated with ardent applause in the halls of the US Congress.

The message of peace reached out to the Arab states of North Africa, where Morocco and Tunisia established diplomatic contacts with Israel.

Oman and Qatar gave promise of fruitful commerce between the Gulf principalities and Israel. Conferences in Casablanca, Amman, and Cairo brought Israeli bankers and economists together with their opposite numbers from

Japan and the European Union. We and they were growing accustomed to each other's faces. Saudi Arabia suspended the operative parts of the Arab economic boycott. The signature of the Hebron agreement, although unnecessarily belated, proved that the Oslo agreements still had a compelling force.

It may have been exaggerated to speak of a new Middle East, but four years of sustained diplomacy as a mere episode. It cannot be doubted that a reckless decision to bring bulldozers onto a previously tranquil hilltop was the first superficial link in the current chain of turbulence.

An editorial writer in the *New York Times* on March 28 had it right: The Israeli government "gave the demands of rightist cabinet members priority over the

giance of the Jewish majorities in the US and other lands. The Orthodox zealots have overplayed their hand. Americans should have taken united pride in the acceptance of pluralism and diversity as the keynote of their approach to spiritual issues. A formula which contributed to the peace and greatness of America should not have been discarded so contemptuously by a militant sector of the greatest Jewish community in the world. Such a divisive error may have more far-reaching negative effects than the current political turmoil. In this situation, the US should give more active support to its principles than it has done so far. King Hussein of Jordan has been a wise counselor, and his exhortations to that effect should be heeded. In the UN, the US has spoken one way and voted another, leaving confusion in its wake. The truth was uttered by Abraham Lincoln more than a century ago: "In great contests, each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be wrong and one must be wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time."

The writer is a former foreign minister.

**It may have been exaggerated to speak of a new Middle East, but the peace process created a different Middle East**

the cumulative effect of the events of 1993-1997 undoubtedly created a different Middle East than anything that existed before the peace process was born.

The peace process itself has proved more popular than any of the political parties that supported it. There has never been a time when the public opinion surveys counted less than 70 percent of Israelis as wishing the process to continue.

It would be a tragic error to regard the progress made during

larger ends of peace."

As if one controversial measure at a time were not sufficient, the atmosphere has been further complicated by the action of an Orthodox Jewish group in demanding a monopoly for the Israeli Chief Rabbinate on conversions. This insult to the main body of American Judaism seems to have the acquiescence of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

It is doubtful whether this position can be maintained. The hard truth is that Orthodox rituals do not command the spiritual alle-

## Again he leads his people to disaster

**A.M. ROSENTHAL**  
In the modern annals of political warfare, no leader has been more effective than Yasser Arafat. He has used techniques and strategies to achieve major goals against an enemy far stronger militarily.

But despite his successes, once again his character and ambitions have led the Palestinians to the brink of disaster.

The Arafat techniques include an international propaganda campaign that made much of the world accept as truth the fiction that a part of Jerusalem is already a city in itself, with an Arab majority, belonging to Palestinians by history and right.

Arab Jerusalem, or East Jerusalem, they call it. Any action by Israel to defend its interests and sovereignty in that fictitious city, like opening a second exit in an archeological tunnel, or building apartments for Jews, is denounced by Arafat and countries around the world as provocation and justification for Arab riots and terrorist murders.

Terrorism is a built-in part of Arafat's political warfare. The technique is to promise to give it up as a weapon against the Jews. Collect for the promise. Then break it when necessary to put more pressure on Israel. Make the promise again. Collect.

Jerusalem.

### PICTURE POSTSCRIPT

**CAR THIEVES** picked on the wrong guy when they stole Peter Lewis's new car from in front of his Washington home.

"I was mad at the thought of someone walking up and taking it from the front of our house in the middle of the day," Lewis said. "I was mad that they took the baby clothes in the back seat. I was mad that the photographs we had taken of our children under the Christmas tree now belonged to someone else."

So Lewis went beyond filing a police report: he placed a newspaper ad offering a \$5,000 reward to anyone who helped find his car and the people who took it.

The gamble paid off. A teenage tipster led Lewis to a darkened street where he found his \$40,000 car, slightly battered and worn but still in good shape.

Police say they have suspects. His newspaper ad read like a communal call to arms. "We are taking a stand on the out-of-control crime in the District of Columbia," said the ad. "Participate with us in placing

The overall strategy is to take every concession provided under the 1993 Oslo agreement to negotiate a peace, and bank it. Then use terrorism, police firepower, and Jewish vilification (Israelis injected HIV into 300 Palestinians, proclaimed a high Arafat aide), and the threat of military conflict to obtain what was not agreed to — like Palestinian statehood, control of the whole West Bank, or rule over Jerusalem — in stages.

The propaganda about Arab Jerusalem was a textbook triumph over reality and history. For only 19 years had there been an Arab majority in eastern Jerusalem. This came about after the Arab nations, with Jordan as spearhead, seized the eastern sections of Jerusalem rather than accept Israel's existence and, as Israel did, agree to the UN plan for partition and an internationalized Jerusalem.

Jordan created the Arab majority

**Will Arafat exchange textbook triumphs for real statesmanship? Probably not**

Now Arafat has taken a step that could be a prelude to Arab attack, or at least will convince Israelis that the Arab commitment to peace is fleeting and reversible. He got Arab states to announce suspension of diplomatic ties and resumption of the anti-Israel boycott.

Since 1993, the Arafat construction of strategy and techniques has won Palestinians the attributes of a sovereign nation — control of territory and population, an army, a functioning administration. The Rabin-Peres Labor government provided them with all that — probably treacherably.

The Jewish population increased more slowly, but enough to keep the majority it has held for a century.

(Courtesy of The New York Times)

**TOP BUSINESS** executives, like dictators and supporters of capital punishment, are more than likely to be the first-born in their families, a US researcher said.

But when decisions on radical changes in company operations are taken, chances are high that they originate with junior board members who have at least one older sibling, he said.

"Tough-mindedness, which brings many business people to the top, is a first-born trait, and there is no doubt that chief executives tend to be the elder child in a family," he told an economic forum.

But Sulloway, who has spent 25 years studying the effect of family birth order on personality, said the traits that brought a manager to the top did not always help when companies were facing crises.

"The later-borns, especially third or fourth children, are more open to new ideas and new ways of doing things and are more likely to come up with revolutionary solutions when they are needed," he said.

Sulloway's conclusions are based on wide research in archives in Europe and the US on the family background of political leaders, scientists and thinkers from the

Arafat sympathizers abroad cry "provocation" over the building of apartments for Jews in "Arab Jerusalem." But Oslo did not forbid that.

Much of the Western press charges that Prime Minister Netanyahu and the landslide majority of Jewish voters who elected him over Labor last year do not want peace. That is as much a lie as the AIDS-injection story.

But they will not surrender the whole West Bank and Israeli territorial security to get it — nor will they bargain away Jerusalem slice by slice.

Unless under American pressure Arafat abandons political warfare against Israel, Israelis one day will say no more talk — this we will give, this not.

If Palestinians continue to use terror against Israelis and their security, they will confront Israeli military power, or the Arabs may attack for the fifth time in Israel's half-century of independence.

Palestinians have proved their national identity and courage. Now they face proving their wisdom, by rejecting war in favor of building peacefully on their gains.

No evidence exists that Yasser Arafat will lead them to that choice.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

#### THE RAMAT AVIV MALL

Sir, — As a secular resident of Ramat Aviv, I fully support the decision to close the new shopping mall on Shabbat.

I was opposed to its construction in the first place, citing it as an ugly, unnecessary eyesore — the product of greedy, rapacious entrepreneurs, and having no place in a residential area. The idea of hordes of consumers descending on our doorstep on Shabbat and ruining the tranquility of the neighborhood is more abhorrent than even religious coercion — if, as Larry Derfner argues, it is that.

My neighbors, according to Mr. Derfner, oppose the closure for the wrong reasons, and I agree with him on that. But I support the closure for the wrong reasons too — my own selfish ones.

Thank you, Mr. Leviev; indeed let us rest on Shabbat.

BETSY WINER

Tel Aviv.

#### MEMORIES

Sir, — With reference to your article of March 17, "Kingdom's subjects," I was delighted to be reminded of one of the most special nights of my life. Bob Kingdom is returning to Jerusalem to perform his one-man show, *Return Journey*, about Dylan Thomas.

Many years ago, during the Blitz, in a London club, I enjoyed the company of Arthur Koestler, Michael Foot (then head of the Labor Party), two Englishmen (high up in the foreign service who became famous some years later when they escaped to Soviet Russia as spies, Burgess and McLean) and Dylan Thomas. When the club closed down, we all went to Dylan Thomas's rooftop flat where he read his poetry to us until the sun rose behind him.

This was the only time I met this extraordinary man, but it has stayed with me to this day and I am grateful to you for allowing me to relive that unusual and moving night.

TEDDY KOLLEK

Jerusalem.

#### DELAYING THE INEVITABLE

Sir, — The Parim bombing in Tel Aviv was a tragedy for which my Israeli sisters and brothers have my deepest sympathy. However, it is disingenuous of the prime minister to pretend that he and his bellicose associates did not cause the tragedy themselves by their brutal disregard for the needs and rights of the Palestinians, and for what justice requires.

The Jewish people have historically stood for compassion and justice, not for Jews only, but for all of humanity. The current Israeli government flouts that historical mission by its contempt for what is right and fair for the Palestinians.

Jerusalem will one day be the shared capital of two states, Israel and Palestine, despite the Netanyahu government's efforts to prevent that obvious, logical and inevitable solution to the chronic conflict between the Jews and Arabs of the Middle East.

Neither should building of more Jewish settlements in the West Bank be permitted. Those that now exist should be dismantled and the settlers assisted, financially and in whatever other ways they need, to relocate within the legitimate, internationally recognized boundaries of Israel. I can assure you that Jews around the world would joyously contribute abundant financial, political and moral support to such a welcome undertaking.

According to international law and the Oslo accords, the West Bank and Gaza are territories belonging to the Palestinians and it is clear that they will one day constitute the sovereign state of Palestine. The Likud's attempts to prevent this peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict can delay and impede, but will not prevent this necessary resolution of a tragic feud that has gone on for so much of this century.

EVALYN F. SEGAL

Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

#### CONVERSION

Sir, — Alex Lubotzky's "Middle Way" (March 31) is very well and good when dealing with an adult convert. But what about the innumerable children worldwide who are converted to Judaism shortly after birth and are raised as Jewish, whether in affiliated or non-affiliated families? Many of them go on to serve in the IDF, putting their lives on the line because they believe themselves to be Jewish. Imagine their shock should they be told that their Jewishness is only for civil purposes.

And what if, God forbid, a non-Orthodox convert perishes in this country? Is he to be denied a Jewish burial? Or are cemeteries to be divided into plots according to civil and halachic Jewishness? Compromise is wonderful, but surely the debate will continue.

DIANA SCHIOWITZ

Jerusalem.

#### CHRISTIAN SUPPORT

Sir, — As a Jewish Holocaust and death-march survivor (Anschwitz and Mauthausen) and a lifelong Zionist, I would like to draw your attention to a grave misperception in the minds of the Israeli public as far as the Christian community is concerned.

When speaking of the Christian community here, it is almost a given to mean the historic churches, which are almost exclusively prejudiced in favor of the cause of the Arabs and against the Jewish people.

But the Christian community is not a monolith. Look at the Christian Zionists who are Evangelical Christians. The International Christian Embassy is one such wonderful organization and they are true friends of Israel. They represent hundreds of thousands of Christians all over the world and their stand in support of Israel in their God-given land is unwavering, as opposed to the historic churches.

We should have the wisdom to be able to differentiate between our friends and our enemies.

DORIAN BROWN

Jerusalem (New York).



# Cost & consequence

YEHIEL LEITER

The fact that tragedy deferred to good fortune on Tuesday in Gush Katif does not excuse us from finding answers to some uncomfortable questions.

For example: Was this the first time these two members of the Palestinian Army showed any propensity for blowing themselves up in the vicinity of Jews?

How many of their soldier-comrades knew of their plans, aside from those who conveniently turned on the way to their guard-post that morning?

Were the latter arrested and interrogated? If there was a conspiracy, did their superiors know about it?

These and similar questions would be easy to pose to Yasser Arafat, but his comrade predilection for lying would probably prevent our getting any serious answers.

There is one question, though, that needs to be asked internally, and we will be better off if we answer it without lying to ourselves.

What would we have done had those human bombs not gone off prematurely and 60 schoolchildren had been murdered or maimed? We can conveniently avoid answering that only if we choose to rely on miracles, something Jewish tradition suggests even the most righteous shouldn't make a habit of.

Since the advent of Oslo, the agreement's staunchest supporters have admitted that Arafat must be held to his side of the bargain: fighting Palestinian terror. The difference, of course, between Binyamin Netanyahu and his predecessors is that now no excuses are made for Arafat's duplicity, and - most important - Arafat's green light for terror has met a red light on further Israeli concessions.

Unfortunately, as current events

bear witness, that has not been enough of an incentive for him truly to expunge organized terror from his mind and midst.

The cost, therefore, of his color-blindness when it comes to terror traffic signals must increase exponentially. He must be threatened not only with getting no more, but with losing what he already has.

**The IDF should stand poised to enter Gaza and any zones where terror is bred, and to stay there as long as necessary**

The government must make it eminently clear to Arafat, and his soulmates around the world, that if he doesn't do what he agreed to do, the Israel Defense Forces will do what it has to do.

The IDF should stand poised to enter Gaza and any Area A zones where terror is bred, and to stay there as long as is necessary. Whether or not it would remain there would depend on what Arafat did then.

Like in Lebanon, it would probably be no picnic. Terrorism may not be eradicated. But, at the very least, the battle with terror would be taken off our streets and out of our cafes, and thrust back into the domain of its fomenters.

If they have declared that the arena is Tel Aviv, we must switch it to Gaza.

OSLO was predicated on the supposition that Arafat had made a strategic decision to jettison terror and embrace peace.

Those of us who opposed the process argued that it was nothing more than tactical machinations on Arafat's part, a wily ploy to ensnare Israel, and that we would pay a heavy price for the concessions we were making based on illusory hopes and wishful thinking. Arafat's reembracing of terror now is evidence that our claims were prudent, and our warnings justified.

The government's decision to halt any further advance of Oslo is wisely depriving Arafat of any more terror-earned political victories.

But letting him know that his strategy will ultimately fail means putting in question the permanence of the successes his violent words and deeds have already won him.

Sadly, that is what we are going to have to do sooner or later anyway - so why must we wait for tragedy to strike? Why must we wait for the "timing to be right"? Our "timing" will never be right unless, God forbid, theirs is too.

The prime minister's ideological mentor, Ze'ev Jabotinsky, once said that "the Jew does not learn through logic, he learns through calamity. He won't buy an umbrella when he sees clouds on the horizon; he will wait until he first gets drenched and sick with pneumonia."

Prime Minister Netanyahu ought to begin his conversation with President Clinton next week with that quote from one of Zionism's greatest visionaries. He might then go on to tell him that after four years of our keeping the umbrellas in the closet, they are out, open and ready.

The writer is executive director of the foreign desk of the Yeshiva Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, and Chairman of the One Israel Fund.



## What's an insult?

YOSEF GOELL

What constitutes banter, and what doesn't? The answer lies in the eyes and ears of the recipient and not the speaker, said Malka Shabtai, adviser to the IDF on Ethiopian immigrant absorption, amid heated media coverage this week of an incident that occurred on an army base in the North.

An IDF soldier had called an Ethiopian soldier *kushi* (the Hebrew equivalent of "nigger") and rejected his request for medical treatment. In addition, the major reportedly told the soldier that if he had his way, all IDF medical facilities would be closed to *kushim*.

There was irony as well as offense in this verbal slap in the face: The major himself is an immigrant from the former Soviet Union.

It called to mind a funny-bitter skit from the late 1960s or early '70s, when broadcasting ethnic jokes first became socially permissible. The comedy team of Arif Einstein and Uri Zohar - the self-same current purveyor of latter-day Habad messianism - depicted a fresh arrival to the country. Barely had the new immigrant stepped onto the holy shores of his new homeland than he turned around and began loudly berating those following behind with the nastiest xenophobic and ethnic slurs.

It is only when members of minorities who suffer discrimination attain a minimal level of personal self-assurance that tasteless joking - of the "you bastard," and even "Jewboy" and "nigger" kind - become shockingly acceptable banter among friends. And even then, great care has to be taken over the exact wording of the smile on one's face as one indulges in such banter.

The major involved, Michael Valitzkin, tried to retrieve his tattered honor by saying that it was in precisely such a bantering spirit that he had made the offending remark.

My foot. Valitzkin didn't only insult Cpl. Avi Asmare, he also turned him away, on racist grounds, from getting medical

treatment.

According to Dr. Shabtai, Ethiopians simply do not accept the epithet *kushi* as legitimate joshing language between soldiers. Ethiopian society used the word in a derogatory way to describe those who became slaves by choice.

Shabtai said she wasn't surprised that Asmare had initially swallowed the insult and held back from lodging a complaint for three months - doing so only when he was persuaded to by a fellow soldier. It was, she

**That depends... but the army must make its stand on racism crystal-clear**

explained, totally in keeping with the Ethiopian character. "Ethiopian soldiers were raised all their lives to hide their feelings, to respect the honor of others punctiliously, to behave courteously, and not get into arguments. They have a very hard time when they come up against the different norms here, the straight talking, and even insolence."

In a press conference this week, Chief of Staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak tried valiantly to rebut charges that the incident in question was just the latest evidence pointing to rampant racism against Ethiopians in the army. Shahak is basically correct; Ethiopians are not specially discriminated against. But he will not persuade the public of that unless he takes much more drastic action against Valitzkin than the mere reprimand the major received from his brigade commander.

Over-generalized charges which accuse Israel of "abandoning" the Ethiopian immigrants once the drama of their heroic arrival began to wear off are irresponsible, and incorrect. When it comes to bud-

gets and the rest of the absorption bureaucracy, it can be argued that no other group has been given as much as the Ethiopians.

But one would have to add that, because of the extreme cultural differences existing between most Ethiopians and super-modern Israel in the '90s, no other immigrant group has deserved such special treatment.

Israel did fail the Ethiopians when it insisted - for both well-intentioned reasons and reprehensible ones - on segregating them in separate absorption centers. And our political establishment failed to fight tooth and nail against the mainstream Orthodox rabbinate's attempts to question the immigrants' Jewishness, even after former chief rabbis Shlomo Goren and Ovadia Yosef ruled that they were Jews.

But perhaps our worst sin of commission was relegating all Ethiopian children, by the dictate of coalition agreement, to inferior education in state religious and haredi schools.

The IDF, at whom a blast of criticism has been directed, has actually been the major corrective for these mistakes. It has bent over backwards to ease its induction criteria and draft many Ethiopian youngsters. And Ethiopian soldiers, which include an impressive number of men and women officers, have not disappointed.

But all of this will be brought to naught if the IDF does not send out the clear message that racist harassment will simply not be tolerated in the army. And that it can only do by cashiering Valitzkin.

A similar message should go out to new immigrants from the former Soviet Union - hopefully from their leaders - that the racism so deeply embedded in the culture from which they came is totally unacceptable in their new homeland.

The writer comments on current affairs.

## Worth his weight in hard cash

NEIL COHEN

Good help is hard to find nowadays.

As someone involved in the venture capital community, I am all too aware that a business's success or failure is determined by three things: management, management, and management.

And there is no question in anybody's mind that in our increasingly entrepreneurial society, the demand for good managers is growing faster than the supply.

One ought to keep this in mind when approaching the current debate - slanging match might be a better description - over executive salaries.

We have just been through the annual reporting season, when all companies listed on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange announced their last year's financial results in full. In the report, they are obliged to disclose the compensation packages of most of their senior executives.

The increasingly substantial packages received by some of these executives have come under considerable public criticism, led by the press, with politicians and some civil servants not far behind.

The situation was aggravated yet further by the NIS 600,000 bonuses Bank Leumi proposed giving its most senior executives for their part in the sale of Africa Israel.

It is an indication of how emotional the issue has become that otherwise sane and intelligent figures made extremely unintelligent remarks.

The governor of the Bank of Israel suggested that administrative measures, in other words, legislation, might be a means to moderate such excesses, and that high pay in

the banks could endanger their stability. The chairman of Bank Hapoalim's board, who also happens to be an economics professor, said that extremely highly-paid executives should pay a special tax.

I suspect that the governor was quoted out of context, and that what he really said was that high pay for executives drives up wage demands across entire companies - though even in this case, I doubt whether any bank in otherwise good health would have its stability

executive's compensation should be the extent of his own achievement.

If we want to be a dynamic, forward-looking economy, this is part of the price. If not, Albania beckons.

I don't have much of a problem with Amiram Sivan of Bank Hapoalim, who earned his shareholders NIS 811.6 million last year, an 11 percent return on equity, making NIS 166,000 a month. I do have a problem with Eli Yunes of Israel General Bank, who

**Show me an executive who's done well by his shareholders, and I'll tell you how much he should earn**

ty compromised.

But when I last looked, this was still a free country, and the shareholders of a company can decide to pay its top managers whatever they see fit.

As far as I am aware, socialism died some years ago, even though there are some in the Israeli economy who steadfastly refuse to accept this. And it is now generally accepted that taxing people at rates higher than the current top marginal rate of 52 percent tends to curb their motivation to work harder and produce more (from which everyone benefits).

ALL this sounds like a steadfast capitalist defense of rich executive compensation packages. It's not.

I do, though, believe very firmly that the main constraint on an

executive's compensation should be the extent of his own achievement.

earned his shareholders NIS 12.6 million, a 5.4 percent return, earning NIS 212,000 a month, over one-fifth of the bank's total profits for the year.

Granted, Hapoalim is partly owned by the state - i.e. the taxpayers - but one still has to pay the going rate to attract men of sufficient caliber, those who will make first-rate managers.

Obviously in this case the numbers are a bit extreme, but I do not mind Michael Eisner, CEO of Disney Corp., obtaining and cashing in an options package worth \$270 million, as he did one year.

The man created billions upon billions for shareholders. If they made a fortune, they probably weren't too bothered that he did, too.

The guiding principles in determining executive compensation

need to be effective corporate governance and appropriate measures of risk and reward.

One of the problems underlying the probably excessive salaries paid in some local companies (and this phenomenon is not exclusive to Israel) is that there is all too little effective corporate governance in place.

A lot of the same people sit on a lot of the same boards, and they're usually a lot closer to the people they're supposed to be supervising than the people whose interests they're supposed to be protecting.

Finding external directors who have the time to study these issues - and the spine to stand up to the CEOs whose pay they approve - can be even harder than finding good CEOs.

The risk and reward part is possibly simpler.

Just as a salesman typically earns a low base salary but can double or triple it, depending on how much he sells, so a CEO is certainly entitled to a base salary that reflects the responsibility and status of the position.

But the rest of the package needs to be performance-based, and that is where many companies let their shareholders down.

Certainly some TASE companies use incentive-based pay packages. But judging by the amounts being earned by managers of companies which, though profitable, earn shareholders inadequate returns on their investment, this is an area in which we still have a lot to learn.

The writer works in the investment industry.

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## Zaire rebels reject offer of cabinet posts

GOMA (Reuters) - Zairean rebels yesterday rejected an offer of six ministries to join a government headed by Zaire's new Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi and headed for talks in South Africa.

Asked by reporters as he boarded a plane in the Zairean city of Goma for the talks if the rebel alliance would accept the posts reserved by Tshisekedi for them, Raphael Ngehenda, rebel information commissioner, said "No." Ngehenda boarded the plane accompanied by Bizima Karaha, foreign affairs commissioner for the rebel Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire.

Earlier yesterday Tshisekedi unveiled a cabinet in Kinshasa with no associates of President

Mobutu Sese Seko and six ministries reserved for the rebels.

Tshisekedi, giving details of the 26-member government, said portfolios of foreign affairs, defence, budget, planning, foreign trade and agriculture were reserved for the rebel alliance.

The rebels have said they would not negotiate with Tshisekedi and would only deal directly with Mobutu. Tshisekedi yesterday showered praise on Kabila, whose rebels have seized a quarter of Zaire. Ngehenda and Karaha later left for South Africa for the first face-to-face negotiations between Zaire's warring sides.

Witnesses said rebel leader Kabila left Goma by air earlier yesterday ahead of the talks.

## UK elections '97

# Labor unveils platform

LONDON (AP) - Opposition Labor Party leader Tony Blair yesterday launched an election platform pledging tight holds on spending and taxes - the transformation theme tune of his once-socialist party.

"We make a virtue of the fact that our manifesto does not promise the earth... there is no magic wand or instant solutions," Blair, 43, declared.

With the latest opinion poll suggesting he's likely to win the May 1 national election and become Britain's youngest prime minister this century, Blair unveiled the 10-point program in upbeat mood.

Labor's election theme tune, "It can only get better," drummed from loudspeakers before Blair spelled out a program that borrowed much from 18 straight years of Conservative government.

It included keeping virtually all the Conservatives' tough curbs on labor unions; no increase in personal income taxes for five years; and no taking back by the state of the big enterprises sold off - including most recently the national railway.

The most expensive pledge, a jobs program aimed at getting 250,000 young people off welfare, would be funded by a one-time tax on the former state-owned enterprises, including utility companies.

This is expected, party officials say, to raise at least three billion pounds (nearly \$5 billion).

While its declared economic program is modest, Labor pledges a constitutional upheaval. It would set up separate tax-raising Parliament in Scotland within a year, and abolish the voting rights of hereditary peers in Britain's unelected House of Lords.

Prime Minister John Major, campaigning at Greta Green, the Scottish border town where eloping English couples used to wed under Scots laws, said Labor's plan meant the end of the three-century union of England and Scotland.

"If the people of Britain want to break up the United Kingdom, they can - but don't be in any doubt that that is what is at stake," he declared.

A day earlier Major unveiled a program that pledged tax breaks for families. Labor, underlining its political turnaround, criticized that promise as irresponsible.

A MORI poll published yesterday in the Times of London showed the Conservatives trailing Labor by 27 points - a record deficit for any party within weeks of a national election.

## Amnesty fingers Russian police

LONDON (AP) - The brutal methods of the Soviet gulag are still being used by police in the Russian Federation, where prisoners are subjected to asphyxiation, beatings and painful methods of physical restraint, Amnesty International charged yesterday.

A 76-page report also documented the use of torture and ill-treatment by both sides of the armed conflict in the Chechen Republic, including the use of electric-shock torture, rape as a form of punishment against residents of villages believed to support the Chechen fighters, hostage-taking and possible summary executions.

Although accession to the Council of Europe required outlawing executions, they have continued in Russia.

"We have received information that about 140 people, maybe even more, have been executed in Russia since Russia was accepted into the Council of Europe. So, as you see, commitments are given, but were not upheld," said Mariana Katzarova, who researched the report titled *Torture in Russia - This Man-made Hell*.

Since the collapse of the Soviet regime in 1991, Russia has been in a legal limbo, Katzarova said.

In addition to the physical torture of prisoners by the police, conditions in many Russian prisons are so appalling that they amount to torture, according to Amnesty International.

Overcrowded, pest-ridden cells are common, with many prisoners left without individual beds. As food and medical supplies are frequently inadequate, illness spreads rapidly.

Prisoners often have to wait years in such conditions for their cases to come to court, and thousands have died awaiting trial, the report said.

It cited a report last year by the Moscow Center for Prison Reform that said more than 3,000 detainees died in temporary holding isolators and pre-trial detention centers while more than 9,000 convicts died in prisons and penal colonies.

Ethnic minorities, women and adolescents are particularly vulnerable to mistreatment by the police, the report says.

Torture and ill-treatment of soldiers, through starvation, rape and physical beatings, is also widespread, the report said.

"Many observers believe that the Russian army today is a prison-like, Gulag-style institution, where the treatment of soldiers is not much different from the treatment of prisoners, and in many cases much worse," the report said.

The criminal investigation unit of the Russian Ministry of Defense reported that 423 Russian soldiers committed suicide in 1994. An additional 2,500 died as a result of "criminal incidents," according to the report.

## IRA causes British highway chaos

News agencies

LONDON - A series of suspected IRA bomb warnings caused chaos in central England yesterday after police closed down sections of three of Britain's busiest highways during the morning rush hour.

Police in Northamptonshire said a section of the main north-south M1 highway was closed after another police force received a telephoned warning of a bomb. Police carried out a controlled explosion on a suspect package on the highway following one warning. Northamptonshire police said the box proved to have no explosives inside.

Traffic backed up for 16 km both ways as police blocked the six-lane M-1 while searching. The suspicious box was found late yesterday morning at an interchange near Rugby, 130 km northwest of London. Midlands police also reported evacuating several stores in the Birmingham area.

"This is what we are describing as an authenticated telephone call," the police spokeswoman said. "We are treating the matter very seriously." Members of the Ministry of Defence bomb squad carried out a controlled explosion after a package was found under the M1.

Police, who described the "suspect device" as a box, later confirmed that it was not a bomb.

Police had evacuated a hotel and warehouses in the area using a loudspeaker mounted on a helicopter. No injuries were reported.

Sections of the M5 and M6 highways around Birmingham were also closed, bringing traffic to a standstill and causing 15-20 km tailbacks.

Coded telephone calls are the standard warning given by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) who are committed to an armed struggle to end British rule in Northern Ireland.

No group claimed responsibility for the warnings.



Vehicles idle along England's M6 motorway during yesterday's bomb scare.

(Reuters)

## Kohl announces run for a fifth term

News agencies

BAD HOFGASTEIN, Austria - German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who steered the two German nations to reunification in 1990, said yesterday he will seek re-election next year to pursue his dream of bridging Europe's divisions.

"I will run again because I believe the current situation requires this from me," Europe's last Cold War leader said in a German television interview taped yesterday.

Kohl saves some of his most difficult decisions for his Easter vacation in Austria, where the daily fare of bread rolls and water seems to whet his appetite for politics.

The 10 days of fasting and reflection in the Alps this year helped him come to the conclusion he announced yesterday, his 67th birthday.

Kohl said he wanted to stay on to help guide NATO's eastward expansion, Europe's integration and the launch of the European Union's planned single currency in 1999.

It was a bold move by the barly

man who regularly upstages rivals who make the mistake of underestimating him.

With his enormous girth and slightly slurred speech, "The Fat Man" has long been a favorite target of jokes in Germany.

But unbeaten in the polls in the last two decades, Kohl has always enjoyed the last laugh. He has been in office since Oct. 1, 1982 and last October surpassed Konrad Adenauer as the longest-serving postwar chancellor.

Kohl's critics have been saying it's time for him to bow out because he's been helpless in the face of record-high joblessness and other economic maladies.

According to German news media, Kohl's wife has been opposed to another term for her husband and would rather have him spend more time at home.

But members of Kohl's three-party coalition have been urging him for weeks to announce he will seek another term because they have no other candidate with his political stature.

Annual weight-reduction or no, Kohl said yesterday there is too much yet to be done for him to fade away.

## Bomb jury candidates clash on execution

DENVER (AP) - All citing the Bible, two prospective jurors in the Oklahoma City bombing trial said they could recommend execution with a clear conscience, while a third said she couldn't live with herself if she did.

The candidates for the panel that will sit in judgment of Timothy McVeigh were questioned as jury selection entered a fourth day. Their answers took the tone of a theological discussion.

A computer analyst who teaches a Bible class for teen-agers said he considered the Christian belief of turning the other cheek but still concluded "you could support the argument for the death penalty."

"I think it should be used in very rare cases." Another prospect, also a computer analyst, said he recalled Jesus' teachings that only those without sin should cast the first stone. "I don't feel capable of throwing that first stone," she said.

"I could consider all of the evidence but I couldn't live with myself if I had to decide if someone was to be put to death," said the woman, identified as Juror No. 101.

The next woman questioned, a farmer's wife identified as Juror No. 779, used her own view of the Golden Rule to back the death penalty.

"I was always taught: Do unto others what you would want others to do unto you," she said. "If he's guilty, he should get the death penalty." Because the federal charges of murder and conspiracy against McVeigh carry a penalty of death by injection, a willingness to impose the death penalty is a requirement. Of the 19 questioned so far, only two have opposed it.

## Cult made last Vegas trip

LOS ANGELES (AP) - Heaven's Gate cult members gambled in Las Vegas and visited Sea World, Mexico and several other tourist destinations in the weeks before they committed mass suicide, the Los Angeles Times reported yesterday.

The newspaper said a meticulously kept financial ledger, now in the hands of San Diego County officials, provides a glimpse into the cult's final weeks. Although celibate and teetotalers, the cultists satisfied their cravings for candy, maple syrup, cookies, soda pop and pizza, the newspaper said.

When investigators found the 39 corpses March 26 at the Rancho Santa Fe mansion the group rented, they also found seven quarts of Starbucks Java Chip ice cream in the freezer.

In Las Vegas, the cultists visited the Stratosphere Hotel in late February.

ברוך דין האמת

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved mother, mother-in-law, grandmother and great-grandmother

**REBITZEN EDITH ROSNER** ריבה

The coffin will arrive at Ben-Gurion Airport, today, Friday, at 1 p.m. and the funeral will proceed from Shamgar (Jerusalem) at 3 p.m. to Har Hazetim.

Her daughter, Reb. Judith Charlop רבית חרלופ, of the Bronx, New York, will be sitting shiva in Jerusalem. For details: Tel. 02-983-4415 / 588-1861.

The Family

Our Beloved Aunt

**CARLA VITKOVSKI**

is no more.

The funeral will take place today, Friday, April 4, 1997 (28 Adar II 5757) at 11:45 a.m. at the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery. We will meet at the main gate.

Ora Tuchler

Gabi and Bilha Tuchler

Michal, Tamar, Yoram and family

Our beloved

**MORDECHAI (Reggie) KIDRON**

has left us.

The funeral will take place on Sunday, April 6, 1997 at 3 p.m. at Beit HaHesped, Kehilat Yerushalayim (opposite Herzog Hospital), Givat Shaul, Jerusalem.

Nora, Dani,

Galia and Chen

Shiva at the home of the Kidrons, Cottage no. 3, San Martin, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-679-2980.

It is with deep sorrow that we announce the passing of our loved and admired brother

**MORDECHAI (Reggie) KIDRON**

Rochie Swade and family, Netanya

Chanie Gluckstein and family, London

David Kidron and family, Herzliya

Mickey and Sidney Loeb, Omer

Michael Kidron and family, London

Lillian Rosenberg, South Africa

Cousin Maria Langbein and family, Jerusalem

The Apartment Owners Association of the Sheraton Jerusalem Plaza

wish to express their profound regret on the loss of

**SHOUL EISENBERG**

a unique and prominent leader of Israel's economic development

May his memory be a source of inspiration and strength to his family

In tribute to our dearly beloved brother-in-law

**NATHAN SILVER** נחמן

His devotion to Eretz Yisrael and his brethren, here and abroad, was legendary. He was an honor to his faith and people.

How blessed we were with him!

How bereaved we are without him!

May the Almighty comfort his grieving family.

Rabbi Samuel and Lillian Cooper and family

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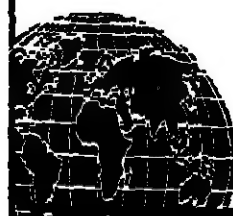
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## Green lights and greenbacks

On the eve of Prime Minister Netanyahu's visit, Washington is debating cutting aid to the Palestinian Authority, Hillel Kuttler reports

Ask Congress and the Clinton Administration what is black and white and red all over and their answer won't be "a newspaper." The response, in fact, is the clear-as-day sense that, with the events surrounding the bombing at the Apropo cafe, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat crossed the crimson line separating peacemaker and terrorist supporter.

The two branches of government agree that the Palestinian leader has disappointed supporters of the peace process by at minimum winking at, and at maximum encouraging, terrorist attacks against Israelis.

Neither Capitol Hill nor the White House articulates a united message on what to do about it. But while the administration has combined the get-tough-on-terrorism message with criticism of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Har Homa building plans, members of Congress come out squarely against Arafat's behavior regarding terrorism - period.

What the administration has in the works to reinvestigate Israeli-Palestinian negotiations is a closely held secret. President Bill Clinton pledged this week to make a personal effort and said he is prepared to dispatch Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to the region as part of a comprehensive strategy.

Many on Capitol Hill, as well as outside analysts, say that at this point Clinton lacks a plan to salvage the peace process. That view is offered uncritically, even by Republicans, because they consider this a delicate period. They believe the president is weighing his options with great care and they want to provide him with appropriate leeway to decide what to do next.

"I think the president, in the face of renewed violence, is responding thoughtfully. I think the administration is behaving in a prudent manner which recognizes the limits of its own power," said Jeanne Kirkpatrick, former US ambassador to the UN.

The administration, while tackling the present crisis, has bigger foreign-policy priorities, Kirkpatrick says, including NATO expansion, securing peace in the former Yugoslavia, improving relations with China, and bringing peace to the Koreans.

"I don't think the US should take an initiative in trying to find solutions. Peace - if it's going to be made - will come from the Israelis and Palestinians and everyone involved," she said.

Judith Kipper, an analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said Albright is being correctly reserved now. "Why should the secretary run to [the region] every time there's a problem?" But Kipper said the US ought to

break with its facilitating role, develop a proactive approach, and "lead the parties, not follow them."

"The tactical approach doesn't work. This is a major crisis," Kipper said. "Clearly, the American administration has to make a choice - to lead and be bold, or let it unravel and take responsibility for the blood that flows. On the other side, both the Israelis and Palestinians have to start acting like grown-ups and take some responsibility."

ARAFAT APPEARS to be the unwitting beneficiary of a breathing space from the critical eyes of Congress. That's because legislators are away on a two-week Easter break and won't be back until early next week. So with potential committee hearings or petitions not an option yet, only individual voices are weighing in from Capitol Hill.

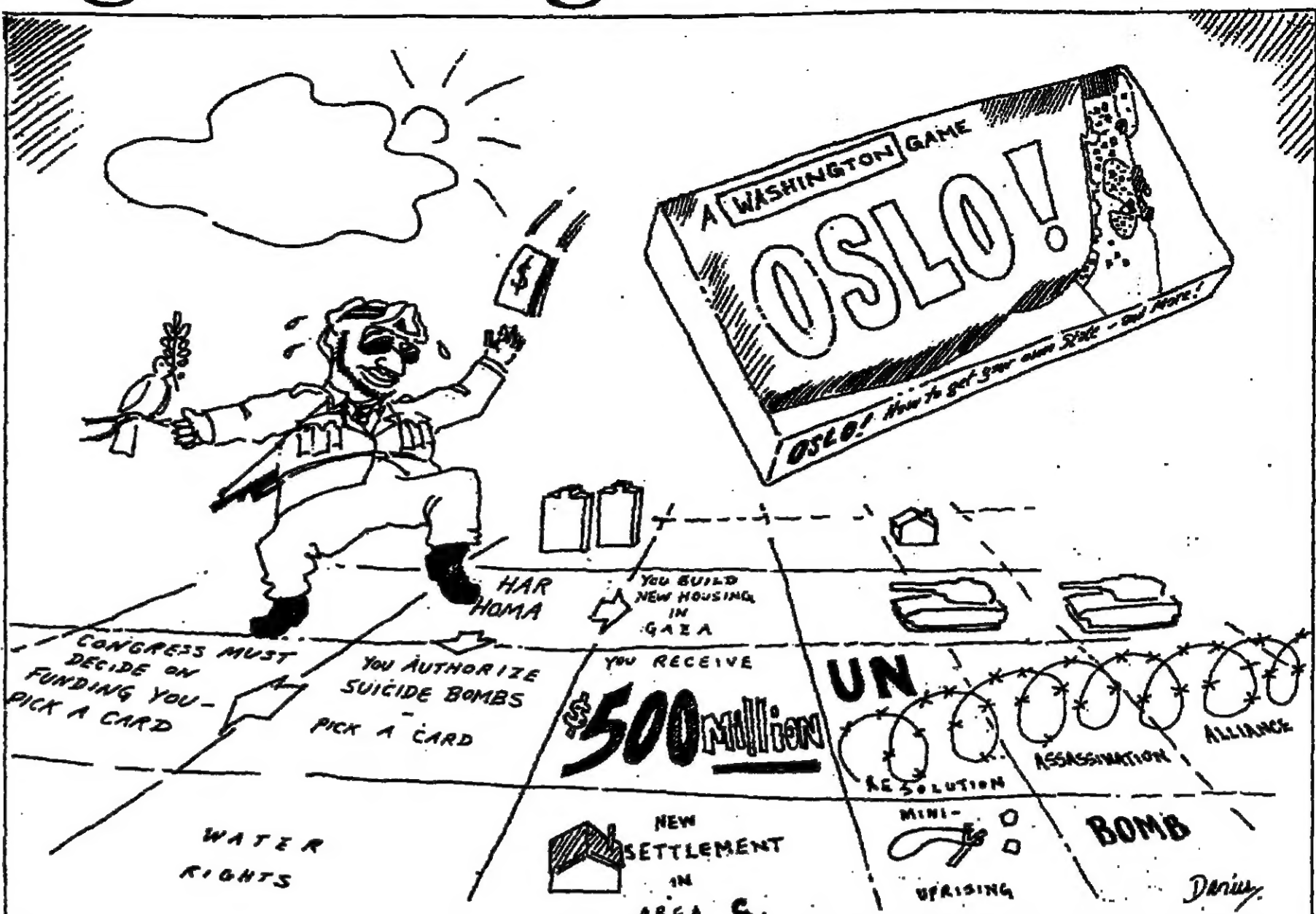
Nearly every day there's another letter to Clinton, Albright or Arafat complaining about the PA's role in the violence. Senator Arlen Specter last week requested that Albright withhold aid to the PA until she determines whether there is any truth to Netanyahu's assertion that Arafat is giving the "green light" to terrorism. Senator Rick Santorum, like Specter a Republican from Pennsylvania, wrote Clinton that any more terrorism "will be a necessary consideration in upcoming fiscal-year aid."

Freshman New Jersey

**Nearly every day there's another letter to Clinton or Albright complaining about the PA's role in the violence.**

Congressman Steven Rothman wrote Arafat that "your recent actions have caused me to reassess the appropriateness of sending any more US tax dollars to support the PA." New York Congressman Elliot Engel, another Democrat and co-chair of an unofficial panel that monitors PLO compliance with the Oslo accord, is calling for a halt in aid until it is proved the PA is fighting terrorism.

A foreign policy adviser to one House member said he detects a "subtle shift" in Congress. "People are maybe going to start calling Arafat on things they think are counterproductive, and not let them go," the adviser says. Asked where Congress's mood lies now, an adviser to a



Democratic senator said: "If [the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act] were to come up for renewal now, it wouldn't pass."

The act, passed by Congress at the dawn of the Oslo euphoria as a check on American relations with the PLO, expires in July. Without it, not only is continued US aid to the Palestinians for infrastructure projects in jeopardy, so is the whole foundation of American diplomacy in the peace process. Only the Facilitation Act allows the president to waive provisions of US law that otherwise forbid contacts with the PLO. The aid at stake is the remainder of the US's five-year, \$500 million pledge made in October 1993.

ISRAEL APPEARS to have two options, observers say. It can send the message that Arafat's "red light, green light" game justifies Congress's historical skepticism of the PLO leader, along with a partial or total cut in US financial aid to the Palestinians. But if it doesn't measure its advocacy cautiously, Jerusalem may find itself having pushed too far, knocking the Facilitation Act over the cliff and, with it, any US involvement in the peace process. And with the Israel-PA dialogue suspended, Washington is the only game in town.

The quandary is complicated by what some see as Israel's hesita-

tion over which path to take. During an hour-long meeting last week in Jerusalem, Sen. Santorum asked Netanyahu: Would you like to see Congress cut the aid? "He said, very emphatically, 'No,'" Santorum said in an interview this week.

At the same time, Israel's ambassador to the US, Eliyahu Ben-Elissar, last week told several Jewish activists Israel would support at least a partial cut in US aid to the Palestinians in the following manner: for each major infraction of the Oslo accord - say, not dismantling terrorist groups, or not reducing the size of the Palestinian police force, or failing to complete changes to the PLO covenant - a certain amount would be deducted.

According to a participant in the meeting, Ben-Elissar stopped short of advocating a full cut. In addition, Netanyahu's adviser, Dore Gold, told Jewish groups in early March he favored a partial cut.

In an interview Wednesday, Ben-Elissar said Jerusalem's approach to the issue of US aid for the Palestinians is "something the Israeli government would have to decide on. It is my feeling that we are giving them a chance, giving the process a chance... This is a political decision, even if you know they are not abiding by agreements."

"I am not giving the aid. The

aid is given by the US administration."

Asked about his alleged support for a partial cut, Ben-Elissar said: "I do not have personal views on this. There is only a government

**Many on Capitol Hill say that at this point Clinton lacks a plan to salvage the peace process.**

view. I don't have a position on that. You asked, and I gave you the government's position."

With Arafat's standing in Washington at a new, post-Oslo low, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, which until now had supported the Facilitation Act to assist the

peace process, now is considering advocating a partial cut. An official of the organization said AIPAC will finalize its policy soon. The country's top pro-Israel lobbying group is likely to make that decision at its annual convention here this weekend.

In addition, the Zionist Organization of America, a constituent voice in AIPAC, will submit a resolution to AIPAC's executive board meeting Sunday calling for the group to support a partial cut. It would give the PA until September 13 - the fourth anniversary of the Oslo I signing - to fulfill several commitments under the accord.

Any cut would represent the hardest line Congress has taken since the Facilitation Act was first enacted.

The bill was renewed several times for short periods due to dissatisfaction with PLO compliance. Now, the perception of PLO-sanctioned terrorism comes as Congress considers a regular 18-month renewal or rewriting of the bill and the institution of sanctions.

Should Arafat get back in the US's good graces, the administration probably would oppose financial penalties. It continually has maintained, in reports to Congress, that the PLO is complying with Oslo. If it does not certify compliance, it could lose its central role in the peace process.

The ambivalence here is reflected in what Santorum had to say about what the legislative and executive branches ought to do now.

"In the short-term, I think we have to react very strongly to things which are antithetical to the process... In fact, the money we provide to the Palestinians is a lever and an effective one. Talking to folks there [on his visit], I feel very comfortable not at this point pushing for the US to impose sanctions or even withdraw aid from the Palestinians. It's an important lever. When you remove, disengage from things financially, you lose leverage... What I wouldn't want to see is the US say: 'We're going to withdraw aid, period.'"

## Biteless boycott

By HERB KENNON

The Arab foreign ministers' call from Cairo this week for a return to the economic boycott of Israel is not an economic earthquake, but rather a small, inconsequential tremor, according to Gil Feiler, an authority on the Arab boycott.

"The recommendation has no significance," said Feiler, who just completed a book on the history of the boycott called *From Boycott to Economic Cooperation: The Tale of the Arab Boycott of Israel*. "First of all it was only a recommendation, and secondly, it does not include Jordan and Egypt."

The text of the resolution on the boycott, which passed at the end of the two-day conference, said: "The Council of the League recommends... suspending Arab participation in the multilateral talks and continuing to maintain the primary Arab boycott and reactivating it against Israel until a just and comprehensive peace is achieved in the region."

The conference also resolved to stop "all normalization steps that have been taken with Israel in the framework of the current peace process, and halt all dealings with it, including closing offices and missions."

Despite the grandiose tone, Feiler said the sting was taken out of the resolutions when it was made clear they were not directed toward Jordan, Egypt and the Palestinians, which all have treaties with Israel and which make up the bulk of Israel's trade

with the Arab world. According to Feiler, a professor of Middle East Economics at the Interdisciplinary Center for Law and Business in Herzliya and a fellow at the BESA

**"What do they think is going to happen - that McDonald's will pull out of Israel, or Saudi Arabia will kick IBM out of Riyadh? It would be nonsense."**

-Gil Feiler

Feiler said it is also worth noting that the boycott recommendation was for a primary boycott, not the secondary and third-degree boycotts of yesterday. The secondary boycott included a ban on companies doing business with Israel, while the third-degree boycott blacklisted companies doing business with companies trading with Israel.

Feiler, who is also managing director of Info-Prod Research (Middle East) Ltd., a Tel Aviv-based firm that specializes in promoting joint ventures in the Arab world, said that the Arab foreign ministers realized that a secondary boycott would now be impossible to implement. "What do they think is going to happen - that McDonald's will pull out of Israel, or Saudi Arabia is going to kick IBM out of Riyadh? It would be nonsense," he said.

Since most of the joint ventures being set up between Israel and the Arabs are between Israel and Jordan or Egypt, the resolution is likely to have little impact on the establishment of joint ventures either, said Feiler. Rather than having any real practical impact, the move is a symbolic one, he said, a signal the Arab foreign ministers sent to the Netanyahu government that if the government's current policies continue, Israel will face regional isolation.

"They are trying to say that if you have problems with the Palestinians, you are also going to have problems with us as

well," Feiler said. Arab League Secretary-General Esmat Abdel-Meguid conceded as much when he said at the conference that the recommendations were "a message to Israel and to the leader of Israel."

But, Feiler said, using the boycott to send a message is a double-edged sword, since the Arab countries, as much as Israel, have benefited economically from a climate of peace. According to Feiler, the multinational firms will be hesitant to invest in a plant in an Arab country, if they know they cannot also trade with Israel, which constitutes a large part of the region's economic attraction.

The total amount of imports to Israel in 1996 was \$30 billion, and we are fewer than six million people," Feiler said. "The entire Arab market, with some 270 million people, imported less than \$140 billion."

"We are obviously a strong market, that multinationals will not want to give up on so easily. Multinationals coming to the region want to work with all the countries, not just one or the other."

According to Feiler, the threat of a primary boycott is also not significant, because, as it stands now, "there is not a tremendous amount of trade with the Arab countries."

Nor does Feiler think there is great trade potential with the Arab world, even without threats of boycotts. "Because of the Arab boycott over the years," he said, "Israel is Western trade-oriented."

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# Keeping a watchful eye

The IDF learned its lessons from last September's bloody riots as Arie O'Sullivan discovered during a day spent with troops near Nablus

The driver of the armored personnel carrier, deep inside his battle taxi, looked up to First Sergeant Avi in command. "Have they started shooting yet?" he asked, when the riots on Land Day began.

The tension was so high, the nerves so much on edge this week in Nablus and elsewhere in the territories that many troops simply expected to be headed into a repeat of the September firefights with the Palestinian forces.

Except that this time the IDF says it had learned the lessons of those bloody riots which killed 14 servicemen and over 60 Palestinians, and destroyed the faith both sides held in their ability to trust and work with each other.

Leading up to Land Day, the IDF knew it would have to reduce the friction points and not be drawn into confrontation with Palestinian demonstrators which could erupt in gunfire without warning. The army had decided it would allow protests, but not violence. Palestinian police were to be given the first chance at quelling it and, if they failed, then an aggressive action by the IDF would be implemented.

The IDF tactic this time around was to introduce massive forces, including heavy tanks, helicopters and snipers, to deter Palestinians and drill into the Palestinian police that any attempt to repeat the September shootings would draw heavy, even irreversible IDF retaliation.

"Without a doubt, we had changed our preparedness. We are on high alert. This place is like a powder keg and you don't know when or if it'll blow," says Capt. Kobi, a company commander in the crack Haruv battalion stationed in the Nablus area.

As an acting platoon commander, First Sergeant Avi had vivid memories of the loss of six Haruv soldiers and officers killed when the Palestinians overran Joseph's Tomb last September.

"We all wanted peace and quiet here, but the paradox is we lost six people. There were guys here who

were seething with vengeance. And this is when troops show their quality and understanding," says the sergeant.

Avi, his bushy sideburns shaved to a point, flashed a smile as he recalled his edgy APC driver wondering if the shooting had begun.

"I simply told him no. That was the climax," he says.

"Sometimes we get soldiers who say they hate Arabs and it would be easy for them, at the moment an Arab threw stones at them, to cock their weapon and blow him away," Avi says.

"This is where we have to drill into them that they are most likely 16 years old and the best solution to the situation is to step aside."

NABLUS THIS week seemed to pass the test. Each day, thousands of demonstrators moved toward IDF troops stationed either on the perimeter of the town or at Joseph's Tomb. And, except for one occasion, Palestinian police stepped in to prevent contact.

More importantly, no Palestinian police opened fire on Israelis.

The stone-throwings were repeated across the West Bank in areas like Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem and the Arak and Arara junctions in Ramallah.

On Tuesday, however, a mob of some 1,000 stone-throwing demonstrators attacked a small Haruv force on the western side of Nablus. The army says its troops fired live warning shots into the air, but off-duty Palestinian policeman Haiman Mansur, 20, from Kfar Kalil near Nablus was hit and killed.

Following his funeral Wednesday, hundreds of mourners began moving south toward the military base of Horon.

Just south of the city, the radio in Lt. Col. Dedi's jeep crackles with a message from the regional commander: "Some 500 demonstrators are headed into your area. Collect all your forces and show them on the heights so they see right away we have strength. Make sure you have snipers with you."

The 32-year-old Haruv battalion



IDF troops outside Nablus: 'Palestinian police were in shock when tanks were moved to the outskirts of town,' said Capt. Kobi.

commander replaces the receiver, turns back to his radio man and says: "You got the Federal [near-gas gun]? Good, let's move out. And don't forget your flak vest with the ceramic plates."

It's the generation-old disease among Israeli troops. With their modern equipment, Israeli soldiers are schizophrenic. On one hand, they are trained to fight a conventional enemy and battlefronts. On the other, they and their commanders - and even their commanders' com-

manders - have been engaged in police action and fighting terrorists for the past 15 years.

But for IDF troops surrounding Palestinian-controlled areas where they can never tell whether the gun-toting Arab "policeman" will turn his weapon on them without warning, it is life constantly on the edge.

"You can't know how [a Palestinian policeman] will react. None of us want to initiate conflict, but we are very dependent on their word and have to be ready for the

draw," says Avi, the 21-year-old sergeant.

"It's hard to keep the alert at its peak. You can't drill them all the time to make sure their weapons are clean and the APC in shape. On the other hand they have to know that at any moment they can be summoned to fight. Our finger is always on the pulse," he says.

"One of the hardest things is not to let your soldiers feel like, 'This is it. What happens tomorrow doesn't matter.'"

Wednesday's demonstration fit-

zled quickly and less than an hour later Lt. Col. Dedi was in his office discussing battle tactics with a fellow armored battalion commander, whose tanks were parked along the main Nablus-Ramallah road.

During the week, the heavily armed M-60 tanks had roared out to take up imposing positions near the city limits, as if to show they could rush into the West Bank's largest city if needed.

"We expected violent riots, because the man killed was a policeman, and so we displayed a lot of forces," says the dark-haired, lieutenant-colonel, who wore little, round glasses. Each time the Palestinian police succeed in stopping the demonstrators, the faith

**"We always treat the Palestinian police with respect and suspicion, but we're putting a little more emphasis on suspicion."**

—Lt. Col. Dedi

that the security arrangements can work increases. "But the moment they break through, like on Tuesday, the faith falls a notch," Lt. Col. Dedi says.

STILL, THE army's first priority and guiding principle in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is the protection of Israeli residents and IDF troops. No shooting will be tolerated, and any attempt, officers say, will be met with extreme overkill.

"If we see a protest and the Palestinian police are really, truly trying to prevent it and they can't contain it, then we are not going to spray them with gunfire," Lt. Col. Dedi says.

He says he believes the Palestinian police understand Israel's position in Nablus after September. "We always treat the Palestinian police with respect and suspicion, but we are giving a little more emphasis on suspicion," Dedi says. "The moment they dare use weapons against us, it'll end with a lot more casualties on their side. We won't let September repeat itself."

Capt. Kobi drops his flak vest on his bed in his barracks room, shared with the other company officers. In his six years in uniform, he has seen service in a number of combat units from Golan to the Air Force rescue unit.

"In Lebanon you have an encounter and you return fire," the tall, curly-haired captain says. "But here, it's much harder not to react when the situation blows up. Our mission here is to protect the [Israeli] residents. We aren't laying ambushes against the Palestinian police. There is a border here and they can do what they want on their side. If 1,000 people want to demonstrate that's their business. I'm here to protect the Jews."

He added that when the IDF moved tanks to the outskirts of town earlier in the week, the Palestinian police "were in shock."

But he admitted that using them would likely mean an irreversible rupture in the peace arrangements as they are today.

"You wouldn't know where it will lead," he says.

Others, like First Sgt. Avi, say displaying the might of the IDF only teases the Palestinians. Not using it was slowly eroding its deterrent effect.

"The Palestinians are probably saying 'Sure you have tanks and snipers. But you aren't going to use them.' It's like crying wolf," Avi says.

"If I can judge," interjects his captain. "On Land Day some said we failed, because we didn't enter Nablus. But... even if we lost something of our deterrence, we accomplished the mission without firing a shot." Still, even Capt. Kobi believes the Palestinian police are just waiting for the right moment to surprise the IDF.

"They never will. We're always going to be ready for them. When the moment of truth comes, I hope my guys will be the best. I know it's just a question of time. [Our unit] was set up to fight, to fight and to win," Capt. Kobi says.

Even his battalion commander, Lt. Col. Dedi, who grew up on a moshav near Ashdod, is confident of his force's power. "After this week, I am cautiously optimistic," the Haruv battalion commander says. He dismisses the belief that not using the full force of the IDF would reduce its deterrent effect.

"[The Palestinians] have to be very careful. We are not playing psychological games. They can cry wolf, but in the end the wolf is a wolf, or in our case a lion."

## ANALYSIS

### Does Hamas prefer Jordan over the PA?

By PINHAS INBAR

The starting point in understanding Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's relationship with Hamas should be the fact that although his Fatah organization was set up in 1964, the movement it grew out of was initially established as a Moslem Brothers cell in Gaza and at Cairo University in the early 1950s, under the name Al-Asifa - The Storm. And even now, after many years of separation, by frequently using Islamic terminology Arafat does not hide the fact that his first priority is to establish a solid alliance with the Moslem movement.

But Arafat's problem is that Hamas is not interested in an alliance with him, and instead prefers close ties with his major rival, King Hussein. (Many in

Hamas still remember the years when the Hashemites maintained good relations with the Islamists, while Egypt, Syria and Iraq, who were Marxist and nationalistic at the time, persecuted them.)

Lately, Arafat has tried to build closer ties with Hamas through the comprehensive "National Dialogue" between Hamas and Fatah.

But Hamas has disappointed Arafat, because Hamas ignored a parallel extradition demand the PA had presented to the US. It was also a blow to the PA's demand, as it took upon itself the responsibility to quell Hamas terrorism, to be recognized by the US as the only party entitled to deal with Hamas. Arafat made it clear that the moment Israel or the US opens direct contact with Hamas, he would withdraw from all responsibility to deal with terrorism.

In fact, since Oslo, both Israel and America have stopped all efforts to contact Hamas directly and left this up to Arafat. Many were therefore surprised when the fundamentalist movement refused to accept Arafat's special role.

It was not only that in the case of Abu Marzook's extradition Hamas indicated a direct link with Israel, ignoring any possible role for Arafat, what annoyed Arafat further was that Hamas actually ignored an offer by the PA to grant Abu Marzook a ministerial post, according to PA sources.

Last week it was revealed in the Jordanian press that Khaled Mish'al, Abu Marzook's deputy in the Hamas's politburo, sent a letter to King Hussein, asking him to move Abu Marzook to Amman. Hussein may have raised the issue in his meeting with President Clinton in

Washington this week. It is much too premature to tell whether this suggestion is feasible, but what is fast becoming clear to Arafat is that some among the Hamas leadership prefer Jordan to the PA.

There is another aspect, too, to Hamas's request. Sources in Amman revealed that when mentioning Israel, Mish'al used the term "the Israeli enemy" in his letter, rather than the word "Zionist," as is customary in Hamas statements.

This is another indication that Hamas has implicitly recognized Israel. As strange as it may look, what Hamas leadership may believe is that the way to a settlement with Israel may pass not through Gaza, but via Amman.

But, this is the position of Hamas's leadership "abroad" - those outside of Israel and the territories, and is not shared by the political leadership "inside." Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, who is still in an Israeli jail, recently sent a letter to his followers in Gaza telling them to cooperate with the PA. The Hamas leaflet - issued by the "inside" leadership - published earlier this week on Land Day did not attack the PA, and recognized it as representing the Palestinians.

The dispute between the pro- and anti-PA elements within the Hamas leadership may lead to more acts of terrorism, because the "outside" leadership controls the military wing, and wishes to destabilize the PA.

The paradox is that at the very time Hamas is showing signals of political moderation, it is also likely to commit more terrorism in an effort to carve itself out a pivotal role in the future. Israel may pay in blood as Hamas attempts to prove that Israel and the US cannot rely on the PA to fight fundamentalist terrorism.

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# Explosive debates: Hamas's identity crisis

Hamas claims the peace process is dead. Or is it? The movement's leaders are unsure what steps to take next, Jon Immanuel reports from Gaza

The most obvious change in Gaza's landscape in the past few months are the banners of the "Islamic and National Forces" that decorate the main streets proclaiming "Our people are united in the struggle against settlements."

The banners may represent a new stage in Hamas's relations with the Palestinian Authority. However, it is not clear whether it is leading to following the Palestinian Authority's strategy. Immediate denials by Hamas and its armed wing, Izzedeen Kassam, that they were involved in the last three suicide bombings in Tel Aviv and in Gaza indicate that whatever "green light" for terror they were permitted, they are not anxious to drive through it.

On the face of it, the groundwork for a new terror campaign is there. Palestinians are angrier than ever with Israel, and there is more popular support for such attacks than at any time during the past year.

But Ismail Abu Shanab, a 42-year-old engineer, says the time is not right. Abu Shanab was released by Israel four months ago after serving a seven-year sentence for his role as a deputy to Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin. His last just won eight of 11 seats in elections for the board of the Gaza Engineering Association. Fatah lost half of its six seats. Some reports said this showed growing Hamas popularity. Abu Shanab denies it. He downplays the victory, explaining that these elections are treated as purely professional rather than political. Since the Oslo agreements, he says, Hamas has had freedom of political organization and doesn't have to score backdoor political points in elections for trade groups like this.

For a leading Hamas activist, Abu Shanab had just done two strange things. He declined to exploit an election win as a major Hamas victory, and he campaigned. Oslo's contribution to freedom.

The fact that this week's two failed suicide attacks in Gaza have been attributed to Islamic Jihad activists makes sense, because Jihad alone among Oslo rejectionists has rejected the national dialogue that opened last month with the Palestinian Authority. Being so marginal, it has nothing to gain by coming in from the cold.

For months, Hamas also was out on the margins. However, Abu Shanab says he has met frequently with senior PA leaders since his release, including Yasser Arafat, possibly also on March 9, though he says he does not remember. That is the date on which Arafat allegedly gave a "green light" to Hamas terror, according to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Hamas strategy, Abu Shanab argues, is now in its fifth stage of jihad, following the escalating stages of stone-throwing, stabbing, use of guns and suicide bombings. Each stage, he said, developed out of Israeli policies and Palestinian needs. Mass stone-throwing was briefly effective, until defense minister Yitzhak Rabin gave the order to break bones.

Hamas graduated to knives to avoid an escalation of Israeli military action against Palestinians that would have come if they had used guns. Then it resorted to guns when the intifada flagged. When Baruch Goldstein murdered 29 Muslims in Hebron, the era of the suicide bombing began, "first maybe as revenge, but then we found them effective," Abu Shanab says.

Now, he says, the time has come to stop the bombings, because they have succeeded. "We said Oslo would come to an end in five years, and it has taken only three."

He skips over the contribution the bombings made to bringing the Netanyahu government to power and focuses on current Israeli policies, which have brought the positions of Hamas and the PA closer together. The aim now, says Abu Shanab, is to let Arafat himself see that the negotiating process is going nowhere and sanction a return to the stage of mass stone-throwing riots.

Abu Shanab's analysis of stage one, the mass stone-throwing, matches stage five, which takes Hamas back to the beginning — where stones again are the weapon. That return to the methods of a previous stage implies not an ultimate victory, but a never-ending cycle of violence with no resolution.

Abu Shanab himself is torn between negotiating and fighting. At one point, arguing against negotiations, he says "negotiations with Zionists have been practiced by Palestinians since 1917, and what did they get?" A minute later, arguing against the PLO, he says "The PLO fought for 30 years and what did it get?"

So fighting and negotiations have achieved nothing? "There is no fair solution, but eternal war is not possible either," he sighs. He has some idea though of what is possible and what is futile, but he's also less than precise in the details. Abu Shanab despises Oslo, but says Hamas could negotiate with Israel on the basis of the 1947 UN partition plan. When informed the 1947 agreement would put Ramle and Lod in Palestine, something to which Israel wouldn't agree, Abu Shanab is surprised. "Were [those towns] in that agreement?" he asks.

**"The time has come to stop the bombings because they've succeeded."**

—Hamas strategist Abu Shanab

His bottom line is pragmatic. Without mentioning a return to the pre-1967 borders, he says that "If US President Bill Clinton said this conflict should be solved by dividing the land, he could succeed. Although it is not fair, most Palestinians will accept it... If the Israelis could convince Arafat they are coming with peace, I think he could come to his nation and say, 'See what I gave to you.'"

NABLUS POLITICAL analyst Khalil Shikaki, who has studied Hamas for many years, says the confusion in what Abu Shanab says reflects three years of Hamas growing pains that have ended with a dilemma. "They can't use violence and also keep their options open," he says.



Palestinian students in the Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza hold a memorial rally for two Palestinians killed in botched suicide bombings this week.

says. "However, how do they give up violence in principle now, when they claim there is still an occupation?"

There is a partial answer called the Islamic Salvation Party, founded 18 months ago and known by the acronym Halas. Halas bought respectability by saying it opposed Oslo but considered violence futile. Unlike Hamas, which takes its name from the acronym for the Islamic Struggle Movement, Halas has storefront offices in every town, its name prominently displayed above the windows. Its leadership consists of well-known ex-Hamas members who have won PA privileges, specifically immunity from sudden arrest.

Yet the differences between Hamas and Halas are sometimes hard to detect. A rally against settlements held in Khan Yunis under Hamas auspices the day of the Apropa cafe bombing showed members of both parties advocating violence against Israel. One of the most virulent speakers was Sheikh Ahmed Baher, a Hamas leader.

For Shikaki, the essential difference between Hamas and Halas is that the latter has no formal links with any organization abroad. "Inside Gaza and the West Bank, there is no difference between Hamas and Halas, only that Hamas does not want a total break with the outside," he says. Hamas in Jordan and Iran is not only more radical, it gives Arafat the opportunity to label Hamas in the West Bank and Gaza as an agent of foreign states. But Halas has no social roots. It is a head without a body. Without its association with Hamas it is sterile.

Hamas has had no newspaper since *Al-Watan*, the party organ,

was banned nearly two years ago after publishing articles sharply critical of the PA. The final straw was its accusation that acrobats from a Russian circus personally invited to tour by Arafat were promiscuous and carried AIDS.

Hamas has been publishing a newspaper, *Al-Risala*, for two months, and its editor is Ghazi Hamad, the same man who used to edit *Al-Watan*. But though it is no doubt funded by Hamas, *Al-Risala*'s graphics and content are

considerably more subdued than *Al-Watan*'s ever was.

Hamad sits in his office under a picture of Yihye Ayyash, the assassinated master-bomber who — in life and in death — was responsible for dozens of hideous bus-bomb killings.

Hamad cannot bring himself to speak against suicide attacks, but he does not praise them. "I am not ready to kill you because you are a Jewish man," but first Israel "must prove to be a partner in

peace," he says.

That means it must state from the outset that its intentions are to give Palestinians "their national rights," Hamad says.

While many local Hamas officials don't recognize the legitimacy of any non-Islamic state in what they regard as Palestine, Hamas is willing to accept a solution like a return to the 1967 borders, if a majority of Palestinians buy the idea. Hamad, like Abu Shanab, does not specify the



Hamas's Ghazi Hamad, seated under a portrait of 'The Engineer' Yihye Ayyash.



Hamas strategist Ismail Abu Shanab: 'We said Oslo would come to an end in five years, and it has taken only three.'

exact borders of his projected state. "That," he says, "is for negotiations."

Ghassan Khatib, a professor of cultural studies at Bir Zeit University, says Hamas is in a quandary. "It gives the impression of gradually moving toward the PA while maintaining some opposition to the peace process, which is not useful to its popularity. It is confusing analysts and the public."

It is as though Hamas, the mother planet, has found it must choose between orbiting its own moons — Halas, the political one, or Izzedeen Kassam, the warlike one — or float off into space.

THIS IS not the road to increasing popularity, however. That's particularly important, because Hamas is hoping to make its mark in local elections tentatively scheduled for August. If it chooses to run it cannot praise violence.

"We want to share in building our society, to develop Islamic aspects of civil life. We want to convince people that justice and a good life will be better under our control," says Abu Shanab, who puts Hamas support at 30 percent. That's an admission that Hamas is a minority party, but it's still much higher than Palestinian polls estimate.

Important as local elections are, "there is no difference between Islam and other governments on how to distribute electricity or clean streets," Abu Shanab says.

The real goal is the second Palestinian Legislative Council elections to be held within four years, and that's why Hamas must decide its path.

If Hamas concludes the peace process really is as dead as its activists say, Hamas would be better off maintaining its rejectionist, Islamic identity. If the peace process continues, Hamas might have to drop its use of violence to take part in the elections, a move that would risk losing its position as a magnet for opponents of Oslo.

The fact that there is confusion over these two directions suggests that Hamas isn't as sure as it says it is that the peace process is truly dead.

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# Battle scars that run deep

Has racism in the IDF driven Ethiopian soldiers to suicide?  
Aryeh Dean Cohen reports on a painful culture clash

Corporal Avi Asemare told the Knesset Aliya and Absorption Committee this week that when he was denied treatment at an army clinic on his base by an officer who told him it was "off-limits to kushim [blacks]," he went back to his tent and "cried like a baby."

But Asemare did not cry alone. Over the past two weeks, Israelis shed collective tears of shame over Asemare's humiliation, and that of two other Ethiopian soldiers who committed suicide — allegedly because of similar racist incidents — leaving many wondering whether the pearl of the Jewish State, the IDF, could indeed be stained by racism.

It was only natural for the Ethiopian Jewish community to take to the barricades over the matter. It was equally natural for the army to circle the wagons, denying allegations of racism and any connection between the soldiers' IDF service and their suicides. Indeed, Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak told the committee: "It is incorrect and unfair to say there is any kind of discrimination in the IDF against immigrants from any country, or group."

But interviews with experts on the community, IDF and Border Police officials and Ethiopian soldiers themselves suggest there is a problem, and that the army has done much to meet the special needs of the Ethiopian soldiers, although, Shahak acknowledges, "there is still much to be done."

The army has been considering the needs of Ethiopian soldiers since it first started drafting them in the 1970s. Until Operation Moses in 1983, there were so few of them that Israeli police beat up a group of them they suspected of criminal activity, rejecting their claims they were soldiers because "there is no such thing as a black soldier."

Between 1984 and 1991, 1,451 served; today they number between 1,500 and 1,700, including 200 women compared to only 20 in 1993.

According to statistics and information presented at the suicides to the press by Deputy OC Manpower Brig.-Gen. On Ragounis, the army, recognizing that service in the IDF "is a kind of ticket into Israeli society for the members of the community," tries to take as many as possible into its ranks. Indeed, Ethiopian officials say 95 percent of those eligible

serve, far higher than the national average.

From the beginning, the immigrants' special needs were taken into account. Gadi Ben-Ezer, a clinical psychologist who has been working with Ethiopian Jews for the last 14 years, was involved in planning special courses for these soldiers, called Magen Zion and designed to prepare them both physically and emotionally for the army. It included dealing with racial harassment. "One of the exercises in the class involved having a cook in the kitchen heap racial abuse on them when they came into the dining room. Then immediately afterwards, they discussed their feelings with an army teacher who helped them deal with it," Ben-Ezer recalls.

Such programs, which are still offered to Ethiopian soldiers and also include Hebrew and other studies, were designed to help the soldiers "build up a type of immunization and resilience to army culture," says Ben-Ezer.

Similar exercises are used today, along with others. Col. Menashe Smirra, head of the army's department of education, youth battalions and immigrant absorption, explained the immigrants meet with "big brothers" from their community who have already been through the army. "They try to explain to them about how to deal with such things, and a little about Israeli society, in their own language. They explain how name-calling is a part of it, but not usually meant to insult anyone."

Smirra said that in 1996, the army, in cooperation with the Absorption Ministry, the Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency ran seminars for 4,000 commanders of units containing large numbers of immigrants.

"We dealt with cultural differences, understanding the codes of the Ethiopians and immigrants from the CIS. We did it by analyzing situations, and meetings with soldiers who told us about bad treatment they had received, and by hearing from experts from the communities who told of their army service from the immigrants' side."

Smirra said one matter stressed by the officers was the need to recognize the fact that special events like deaths and weddings are important community events for the Ethiopians. "Normally, a commander would only allow a member of the immediate family time off to



Ninety-five percent of Ethiopian immigrants serve in the IDF — a much higher percentage than the national average.

(Hanoach Guthmann)

attend such an event. We explained that in the case of Ethiopian soldiers, anyone from the family should be allowed to attend."

Officers were and still are trained to better understand the Ethiopian community's unique social codes.

WHILE "not all Ethiopians behave the same way," Dr. Shalva Weil, a senior researcher at the Hebrew University's National Council of Jewish Women Research Institute for Innovation in Education, says a better understanding of some of these codes of behavior can target flashpoints that may contribute to tensions for such soldiers.

"The most important thing to an Ethiopian is his individual sense of honor," she says, "and if he feels that he has somehow been shamed,

this might have repercussions which may become apparent at a later stage."

Another problem is "the difficult-

go home." If later it turns out that he can't go home, he might interpret that as betrayal.

Weil says Ethiopians also have a

**While Ethiopian soldiers make up only 0.5 percent of the army population, they account for 10 percent of the suicides.**

ty in differentiating between real promises and half-promises, or statements." This is particularly important regarding time off, vital to Ethiopian soldiers concerned about pressing family matters.

"For example, the army officer might say: 'Next Shabbat you can

totally different concept of time. "Although it's changing a lot, the concept of time depended more on the seasons in Ethiopia. Here, we're in the age of digital watches, and in the army in particular, time is of the essence. All of us are feeling the pressure of time, and this

pressure must be even greater for an Ethiopian. Consequently, he might feel very, very pressured and not up to taking all this."

Indeed, Mollie Benay, the soldier from Netanya who recently committed suicide, complained of the shakes and feeling under pressure after he was forced to stay up all night preparing more sandwiches to replace the ones allegedly ordered thrown out by an army doctor because they were prepared by the wrong people. The army disputes that story, but a 1991 IDF internal study of its Ethiopian soldiers noted they had "difficulty functioning under pressure."

Dr. Malka Shabtay, a lecturer in applied anthropology at Ben-Gurion University, who serves as an adviser to the army and did a doctorate on the Ethiopian sol-

diers' absorption into the IDF, agreed with Weil, adding Ethiopian soldiers "believe that words have the power to hurt someone, which is why they often say: 'Better you should hit me than curse me.'"

More importantly, she says, "the word *kushi* is interpreted by them as 'slaves.' So it's as-if-you-were calling them a slave."

Weil says one of the problems the IDF has is that Ethiopian soldiers' anger "can be quite unexpected, and their reactions can be quite unexpected. So an Ethiopian may repress his feelings for days, months or years, and it may suddenly come out in an extraordinary manner, as far as we are concerned."

Continued on Page 12

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2. Sunday Evening, 11 Iyar, 5757 (May 18, 1997), 8 p.m.

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UNRWA intends to award a contract to an agent, registered with IATA and the Israeli and/or the Palestinian Authority Chamber of Commerce, who possesses the capacity and the necessary licenses and/or approvals of the relevant Authority to fulfill the requirements of UNRWA which are specified in the Request for Proposal documents.

A copy of the relevant Authority licenses and/or approvals must be presented when collecting the Request for Proposal documents.

The Request for Proposal documents can be obtained at the following addresses:

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Please be advised that the deadline for obtaining the Request for Proposal documents is 12 noon on Thursday, April 10, 1997.

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הכרזת מלכות



# Taking an unorthodox path

Who's affected by the conversion bill that passed first reading this week? Dan Izenberg meets two Israeli families who are paying a heavy price for their refusal to undergo an Orthodox conversion

Oxana Bogdanovich, who is called Ruth in Hebrew, is due to complete her Reform conversion procedure today by immersing herself in a ritual bath.

In the coming days, she intends to add her name to that of the 17 other High Court of Justice petitioners who are demanding that the Interior Ministry register them as Jews. All are Reform or Conservative converts.

Oxana, 30, lives with her husband, Sergei, in a small, sparsely-furnished public-housing apartment in Jerusalem's Baka neighborhood. Sergei, who wears a knitted skullcap, is studying for his M.A. in Jewish education at the Conservative movement's Jewish Theological Seminary and is active in Kol Haneshtama, a Reform synagogue located near their home. He does a lot of translating for his wife, because Oxana barely speaks Hebrew. She came here at the end of 1995 as a tourist and met Sergei soon after, when she enrolled in a Russian-language conversion ulpan administered by him at Kol Haneshtama.

So far, the couple has paid a heavy price for their beliefs, beginning with Oxana's determination to officially become a Jew and make her home in Israel. Sixteen months after arriving in Israel, Oxana is an illegal alien with no rights, such as the right to work or to health insurance. The Interior Ministry has also refused to recognize their marriage.

Oxana comes from Bobruisk,

in Belarus, the daughter of a gentle mother and a Jewish father who preferred to conceal his religious origins. She learned about Judaism in her early childhood because her paternal grandmother observed Jewish festivals. But it was only several years later, when she befriended a neighbor, Lilia Godol, that she began to regard herself as Jewish.

"I spent a lot of time at Lilia's house and it was a very Jewish home," Oxana recalled. "They observed the festivals and I still remember eating apples and honey there on Rosh Hashana." Oxana also joined the Jewish community center which opened in 1987 and was run by Lilia's husband.

In 1991, Lilia and her family emigrated to Israel. The following year, she returned to Bobruisk as an emissary and opened a summer camp for young adults. "I had regarded myself as Jewish since the mid-1980s," said Oxana. "But after the summer camp, my Jewishness became the most important thing in my life." Oxana continued to participate in the Jewish community center and, when circumstances permitted, even stopped working on Shabbat as a symbol of her commitment. In 1995, Lilia invited Oxana to Israel and served as her sponsor for the three-month tourist visa her friend was granted. A month-and-a-half into her visit, Oxana decided to convert.

"I chose a Reform conversion because I wanted to believe in the things I would be doing," Oxana explained. "There are



Oxana (Ruth) Bogdanovich, considered an illegal alien, and husband Sergei.

(Isaac Harari)

many things forbidden by Orthodox Judaism which I cannot understand. For example, the ban on electricity on Shabbat. Anyone who studies physics can tell you electricity is not fire." Oxana said she also did not like the Orthodox restrictions on women. "I believe we must observe the commandments," she said. "The question is, what is a commandment and what is law? Take, for example, the requirement of modesty. I dress modestly, but that doesn't mean I have to wear a dress down to my ankles and cover my hair."

Oxana was accepted into the Kol Haneshtama conversion class after interviews with the head of the congregation, Rabbi

Levi Weiman-Kelman, and a religious court made up of rabbis Edgar Nof, Michael Boiden and David Ariel-Yoel.

For over a year, starting in January 1996, she attended a weekly two-hour lecture on various aspects of Judaism and at least one prayer service a week. She also participated in activities of the Kol Haneshtama congregation and the Reform community.

"The course is a combination of study and experience," said Sergei. "It lasts more than 12 months so that students can learn the yearly cycle of Jewish festivals and observances." In the middle of the course, Oxana's visa expired. Interior

Ministry officials initially threatened to expel her and her case has been under consideration for many months. In the meantime, she lives in limbo, without any rights.

According to Sergei, the Orthodox establishment does not understand whom it is dealing with when it treats immigrants from the former Soviet Union with suspicion and makes it hard for them to convert.

Under the Communist regime, Jews were not defined according to Jewish law but by nationality, he explained.

If the father was Jewish and had a Jewish name, the family was considered Jewish. "By the second and third generation,

many Jews were really only half-Jews or less, but it was the Jewish blood that determined their identity. The fact there was any Jewish blood at all was the decisive factor. Today, when the media report that a large percentage of the immigrants are not Jewish, they are very insulted because they suffered so much from antisemitism in Russia."

Although Oxana and her husband have had no luck so far in persuading the Interior Ministry that she is a good Jew, there seems to be no doubt about her devotion to Judaism. The couple lights candles on Friday night, prays every week at Kol Haneshtama and observes kashrut and Jewish holidays.

LOUISIA and Bezael Sigati represent a different type of Israeli seeking a Reform conversion.

Louisia, who is unable to have children, recently decided to adopt a baby. She was referred to Raphael Baum, a psychologist and adoption mediator who told her about the process of adopting a baby abroad. Baum proposed a package deal which included adopting a foreign child and then converting the baby to Judaism in a Reform service outside Israel.

"Here, people have to wait for years and undergo the torments of artificial insemination before they are allowed to adopt a child," said Bezael. "There are some people to whom fate has been cruel and the people in power don't understand this. Luckily, there is such a thing as a Reform conversion and my daughter has been able to come to Israel as a Jew."

Louisia was moved by how kindly she was treated by the Reform rabbis in London. "They were so nice and polite," she said. "They asked some questions, like whether my husband and I agreed to the conversion. Then they immersed her in the ritual bath and that was it. They didn't cause any problems or make things difficult like the Orthodox rabbis do here."

Louisia and Bezael were defiant about the problems they might encounter with the Ministry of Interior or the Rabbinate regarding their daughter's religious status. Baum had told them that the Interior Ministry has frequently blocked the registration of such babies as Jews. "I have suffered disabilities three times in the army," said Bezael.

"I am an Israeli, a sabra and an extreme secularist. I will raise my daughter as I see fit and I don't want those bastards who call themselves rabbis to interfere in the way I bring her up. She will serve in the army and not avoid military service like the sons of these rabbis. It's too bad they treat us this way."

## Caught in the middle

Israel Ba'aliya's constituents have the most to lose if the conversion bill passes. Why didn't the party oppose it? Dan Izenberg reports

Third Way MK Alex Lubotzky emerged as the hero of the week for many people in Israel and the Diaspora by daring to defy the Orthodox parties and force at least a temporary compromise between them and the Reform and Conservative movements on the conversion issue.

Lubotzky's achievement, however, cast a shadow over Yisrael Ba'aliya, the party which had been expected by many to stand up to the haredi juggernaut on this matter and had failed.

There are two reasons why the self-proclaimed champions of the immigrant community have a special relationship to the conversion issue.

The first is because a large number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union are not Jewish according to Halacha and will have to undergo conversion if they want to live here with all the rights enjoyed by their fellow countrymen.

The second is because Yisrael Ba'aliya has taken upon itself a special role in relationship to Diaspora Jewry.

According to Absorption Minister Yuli Edelstein, one reason for this stance is the efforts made in the 1970s and 1980s by North American and European Jewry on behalf of Soviet Jews in general, and refuseniks like himself and party leader Nathan Sharansky in particular.

Although most of the estimated 700,000 post-1988 immigrants from the former Soviet Union are secular and roughly 100,000 are not Jewish according to Jewish law, several of the constituency's elected leaders, like Edelstein, are Orthodox, while Sharansky, whose wife is an ardent religious nationalist, is exposed to Orthodox influence.

Although Sharansky and Edelstein made a gesture of resisting the amendment to the conversion law by abstaining in the cabinet vote on March 21, in fact they and the other Yisrael Ba'aliya MKs accepted it without a fight.

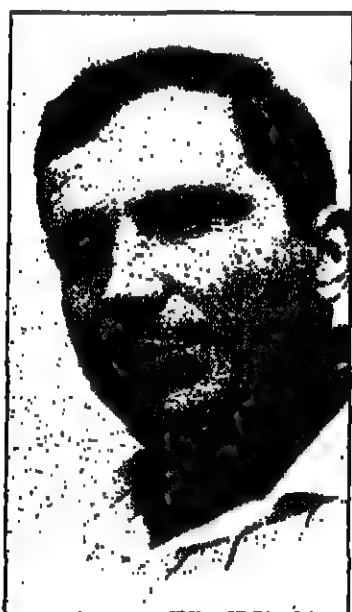
Edelstein said he had no problem with the legislation as far as the non-Jewish immigrants are concerned.

"For the moment, Israeli society is not prepared to recognize Reform and Conservative conversions," he explained. "If I want to solve the problem of the non-Jews, the only solution is Orthodox conversion."

Edelstein based his argument on



Roman Bronfman



Yuli Edelstein

(Isaac Harari)

unspecified "public opinion surveys," singling out only one by name — a report published in 1993 by the Guttman Institute

ty with a girl and they decide to get married. Her family will turn him down. They will say their daughter will not marry a boy."

**"If someone wants to convert to Judaism, I'm not sure we ought to define the type of conversion he should undergo."**

—MK Roman Bronfman

entitled "Beliefs, Observances and Social Interaction Among Israeli Jews." He claimed that the survey found that up to 70 percent of the Israeli public refused to recognize Reform and Conservative conversions.

In actual fact, one of the authors of the report, Hebrew University Professor Elihu Katz, said that the report did not refer to Reform and Conservative conversions at all, and that two-thirds of those questioned in the poll had come out in favor of according the same status to the Reform and Conservative streams in Israel as that of the Orthodox.

Nevertheless, based on the statistics he had referred to, Edelstein said that "if I tell the non-Jewish immigrants to undergo a Reform or Conservative conversion, I am fooling them. Take, for example, a non-Jewish boy. He goes to school, to the army, to universi-

ty with a girl and they decide to get married. Her family will turn him down. They will say their daughter will not marry a boy."

What did trouble him about the law was its negative impact on the Conservative and Reform movements abroad, Edelstein continued. In order to defuse these tensions, "we created a dialogue with the Diaspora."

"Recently, we organized a meeting between Reform and Conservative rabbis and as many as seven or eight cabinet ministers including the two from Shas — probably the first time they ever saw a non-Orthodox rabbi in their lives. We listened to them. That doesn't mean we agreed. But this way, we can continue the dialogue. We are ready to convey what they tell us to the cabinet. It is the first time the voices of Jews of different persuasions are being heard."

In one such meeting last month, Sharansky told American Jewish leaders the government's conversion bill was "the least of the evils. It is preferable to

anchor the religious status quo in law because any other decision will grant victory to one or another of the religious streams in Judaism — and the conflicts between the various groups will then become permanent."

MK Roman Bronfman, chairman of the Yisrael Ba'aliya Knesset faction is a secular Jew with undisguised sympathies for the Labor Party.

He did not hide his discomfort with the bill or the fact that he voted for it only out of coalition considerations.

"I support the bill with a heavy heart," he said.

"I am not happy about the fact that the religious status quo will become anchored in law. The status quo should be a flexible thing because it constitutes a system of mutual respect and tolerance between the religious and non-religious segments of the population. If we define the status quo, it can create pressures that will have a detrimental effect on the relations between secular and religious Jews."

Bronfman also did not hide the fact that he believed in the legitimacy of the Reform and Conservative movements. "The community of immigrants is not sufficiently aware of the different streams in Judaism and I do consider the Reform and Conservative movements religious streams," said Bronfman. "You can rightly say we should help the immigrants get to know these streams, rather than exploit their ignorance. If someone wants to convert to Judaism, I'm not sure we ought to define the type of conversion he should undergo."

"As a secular Jew, I can understand, but under no circumstances justify, making a distinction between one type of conversion and another."

Edelstein's ultimately empty statements about acting as a bridge between the government and the Diaspora on the conversion issue, and Bronfman's frank admission that he was bowing to political realities may have passed without notice had it not been for Lubotzky.

After all, both Yisrael Ba'aliya representatives were talking like true politicians and what is Yisrael Ba'aliya if not a political party?

But Lubotzky proved that on this vital matter there was room for effective action rather than empty gestures or passive acceptance.

In doing so, he proved on an unlikely subject that there might, indeed, be a third way. Inadvertently, he also proved that Yisrael Ba'aliya has not

## Where is Anatoly when you need him?

Some US Jews feel betrayed by the man they fought to free, Marilyn Henry reports from New York

They want Anatoly. They don't want Nathan. That's the message, both subtle and overt, from some American Jews who have been shaken by this week's conversion legislation.

While some say they are "saddened" and "disappointed" by Nathan Sharansky's support of the status quo, which maintains control of conversion in the Rabbinate, others are far more blunt.

"Minister Sharansky, if you were persuaded by arguments of status quo, you'd still be in a Russian jail. If we were persuaded by arguments of status quo, we wouldn't have worked so tirelessly to free you," said Ammiel Hirsch, director of the Reform movement's Association of Religious Zionists of America. He was recounting the message that a delegation of Reform rabbis had given to Sharansky during a recent visit to Israel.

"When you were still called Anatoly, you defied the status quo and you stood up to the entire Soviet empire," Hirsch said at a Reform synagogue in New Jersey last Sunday, the day before the conversion bill was introduced.

"Now you can't stand up to a few fundamentalist rabbis?"

The angst — if not the anger — about the conversion legislation is sharply focused almost exclusively on Sharansky.

But the question is whether the Reform and Conservative movements are disappointed because he was expected to advocate what the Reform movement calls "human rights," or because a debt is due to the Soviet Jewry movement.

"There is no question that there is disappointment in some elements of the Jewish community with Mr. Sharansky," said Rabbi Eric Yoffie, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

"He was seen as the champion of human rights and religious freedom. There was the expecta-



Ministry Sharansky: In the hot seat.

(Isaac Harari)

tion that he would champion those things in Israel." Veterans of the Soviet Jewry movement rallied at the implications that Sharansky was beholden and that he had betrayed those who labored long for his release.

"What are we saying? That if we had known how he would vote we would have left him there?" asked one of the veterans in New York, who, like the others, did not want to be identified by name.

"Does he owe anything? Did people get involved so they could collect an IOU?" asked another veteran in Washington.

The word "betray" is not fitting for someone who was a prisoner of Zion," said Rabbi Philip Spectre, the head of the Masorti movement in Israel, who was visiting the US. "That

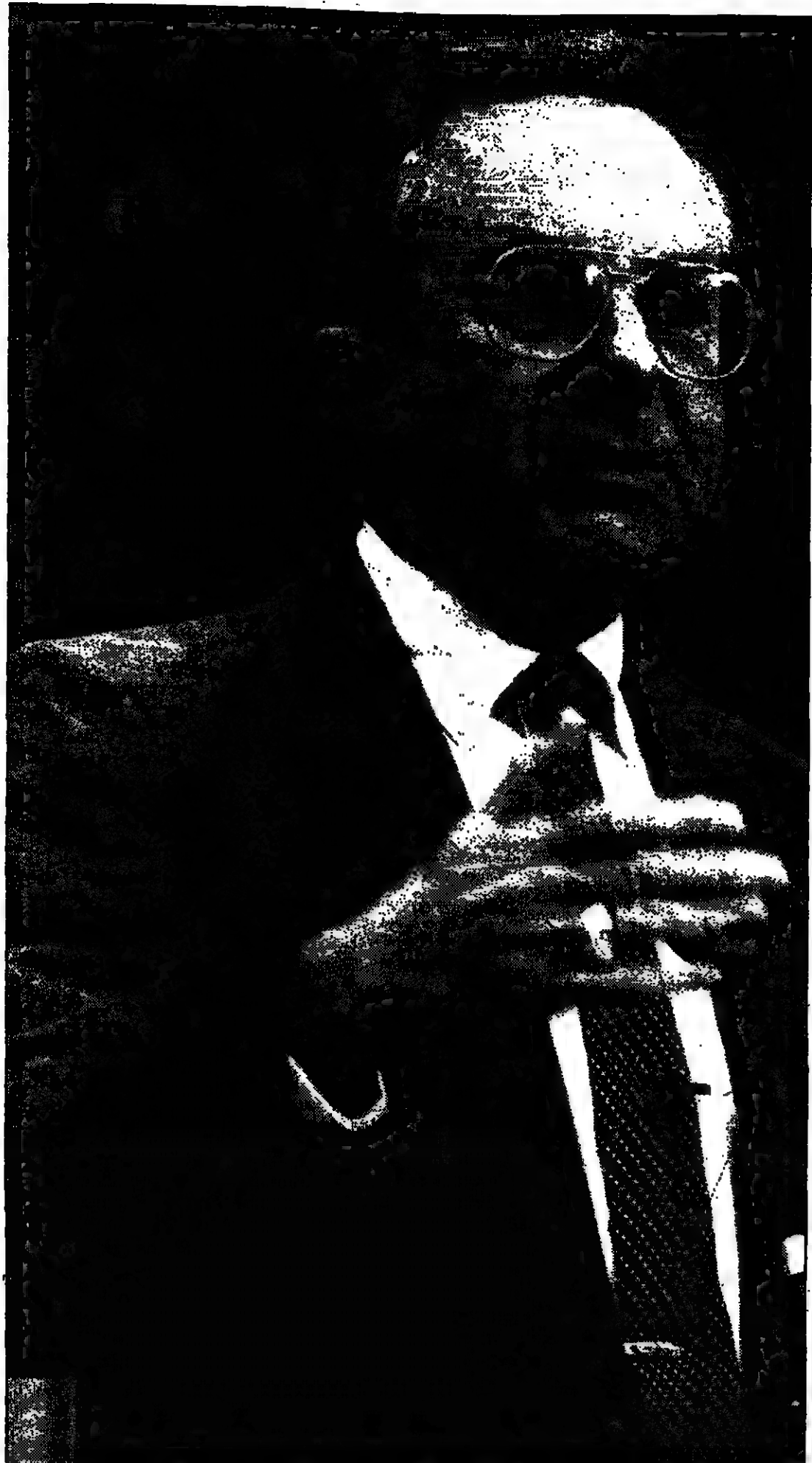
is a term I would not use for Sharansky. He has paid more dues than all of us who have tried to get him free." But, Spectre added, "I am disappointed by his position and confused by it. He was elected by a great number of Russian immigrants who will suffer because of the way his party voted."

Samuel Sissen, the head of the Masorti Foundation in the US, said he was disappointed that Sharansky embraced partisan politics rather than the unity of the Jewish people.

Although it wasn't surprising that many MKs had supported the conversion legislation, "in the case of Sharansky, it's sad," he said. "In addition to being an elected member of Knesset," Sissen said, "he's Anatoly Sharansky."



# Pulling strings



If Arens can't win Netanyahu over, maintains the extra-parliamentary organization set up to change the electoral reform law, no one can. (Zeev Ackermann)

Moshe Arens - who has served as both defense and foreign minister in past Likud governments - plans to try what at first glance appears a mission very impossible. He will seek to persuade Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to join the newly-declared multi-partisan campaign against the direct elections system.

Arens is the first to concede that it won't be easy, not only because Netanyahu is such an avid advocate of the new system, but because it was his own vote which ensured the adoption of this system and Netanyahu broke party discipline to cast that single deciding vote.

To undo what Netanyahu so crucially contributed to several years ago, odd political bed-fellows including Yossi Beilin, Ephraim Sneh and Moshe Shahal of Labor teamed up with Uzi Landau and Moshe Nissim of the Likud this week to set up an extra-parliamentary organization with Arens at its head. If Arens can't win Netanyahu over, they maintain, no one can.

Arens, after all, gave Netanyahu his political start.

But doesn't the fact that Netanyahu risked his party's wrath indicate that his stand is unalterable? "Maybe what happened in the last elections helped him change his mind," Arens retorts. "I know that conventional wisdom has it that he owes his success to the new system, but the fact is that because of it he almost didn't get elected. The margin was narrow because of the direct one-on-one contest. However, as the Knesset returns of that same day show, under the old system Netanyahu and the political Right would have enjoyed a landslide."

Arens is "sure that for now Netanyahu is happy. Having been elected, he is all but untouchable. He doesn't depend on the party central committee, doesn't need to account to it and he doesn't have to worry about Ariel Sharon. It makes his life easy. He calls the tune. But that is the current picture, and Netanyahu must consider the future."

In the same vein, Arens notes the experience he has in prevailing over Netanyahu. Most outstanding is the little-known fact that, without fanfare, mild-mannered Arens talked Netanyahu during last year's campaign season into declaring openly that he will adhere to the Labor government's commitments to the Oslo accords. Consequently, Arens acknowledges, he also indirectly contributed to making Netanyahu the favorite whipping boy of the settlers and their allies and to making it bon ton in some Likud quarters to express disenchantment with him.

Arens, in fact, can easily empathize with Netanyahu's plight. He not only imparted his outlook but also, in a way, bequeathed his burden to his protégé. Like Netanyahu now, Arens too was passionately vilified as a traitor to the National Camp's cause whilst serving as defense minister, and by some of the same people. "They weren't right then and they are not right now. If anything, they should have learned from the grave errors they made then, which to no small extent helped bring the Likud down. They must be extra-cautious not to pave Labor's path back to power with overzealous good intentions. But they could not be more wrong about Netanyahu."

Arens says no one knows better than him "how difficult a decision it was for Netanyahu to announce that he would not dump Oslo outright. He agonized over it. It wasn't something he agreed to willy-nilly or cynically for immediate political profit. If it were only a matter of campaign expediency he could have backed out. I know firsthand it was a wrenching process because I met him time and again and urged him

**Moshe Arens hopes to do the impossible: To persuade PM Netanyahu to repeal the direct-election legislation, Sarah Honig reports**

repeatedly to take this stand. I can tell you very clearly that it was not easy to bring him around. It took quite a while and quite an effort.

"From meetings with him after the elections, I can attest that it is still not easy. He is up against what is perhaps the single most difficult situation a prime minister has ever encountered and I believe that it is without precedent in the democratic world and in the modern age."

Arens unequivocally states that "nowhere is there a case of a prime minister who inherits an agreement with which he so fundamentally disagrees and which he considers so disastrous, but which he must carry out."

"He faced the dilemma of either throwing it all out the window or of abiding by the deal according to the norms of an orderly Western democracy. This explains the frustration in his party and among the settlers," claims Arens.

**Arens' own theory for the Likud's lethargy is that "it's one more bad consequence of the electoral system."**

He believes that "in their heart of hearts, they expected him to ditch the pre-election talk of continuing the peace process. They hoped it was campaign gimmickry. At the same time it is a travesty for those on the Left to now mock him for supposedly implementing the Labor line and to sarcastically send him to Rabin's grave to beg forgiveness."

This is a gross misrepresentation because while Netanyahu chose the democratic norm, he is handling things very differently from Labor, in an attempt to make the best out of an exceedingly bad situation.

Arens only faults Netanyahu "as far as appointments are concerned. Those are not his strong point. But on handling the Oslo legacy, he deserves top marks."

But isn't Netanyahu's timing off - on Har Homa, for instance? Arens thinks not. "I would have gone ahead with Har Homa too. The foreign-media distort the issue by making a settlement out of urban development for Jerusalem, and by talking of 'Arab East Jerusalem' instead of South Jerusalem, where most of the land involved was Jewish-owned. It would have been a bad precedent not to go ahead with the housing project and thereby place limits on urban development in Jerusalem and in effect begin the division of the city."

"There is nothing in Oslo against such construction and nothing in Oslo declaring Jerusalem the capital of Arafat's Palestine. But this hasn't prevented Arafat from proclaiming

Jerusalem his capital morning and night every single day. He is clearly seeking to establish facts and stick his foot in the door. This is an inevitable confrontation which could not have been postponed even by a year. The conflict has already upon us and this is one conflict where we have to stand very firmly."

As Arens sees it, Har Homa is "not really the cause for the concerted Arab onslaught on Israel and the renewed talk of boycott. Har Homa is a pretext and had it not been available, another would have been found. Someone like Egypt's President Mubarak may be encouraged by the fact that he perceives Netanyahu as weak on the home front because of all the media flack and the way the opposition here is behaving, but that's only part of it."

BUT DOESN'T the fact that even the Likud is not going out of its way to come more forcefully to the aid of its own leader betray Netanyahu's weakness in the public-opinion arena? Arens finds that the Likud is "altogether dormant lately." He agreed to head its political committee at Likud Executive Chairman Uzi Landau's invitation "though the headlines about my return to active politics were more than exaggerated," Arens insists. He discounts the theory that parties generally fall into a coma when they form the government. "Take a look at what happened under Shamir. Remember everything Sharon did then? If anything, the Likud was hyperactive and Shamir certainly didn't like it."

Arens' own theory for the Likud's lethargy is that "it's one more bad consequence of the elections system. Labor would have suffered from the same condition were it not for the power struggle. The large parties were both cut down drastically. I can't recall when the Likud last had only 22 MKs. Right now, Netanyahu may be sitting pretty, not needing to answer to party forums and allowing them to wither on the vine, but democracies need parties."

The yardstick by which the new system ought to be evaluated, Arens says, is "whether things are better now than they were under our original system. They are considerably worse. We have instituted a crazy hybrid and turned the electorate into guinea pigs. In a country with overriding existential national issues, we have made possible gross parliamentary overrepresentation for special-interest parties."

"For the first time in the country's history, both large parties together don't have a Knesset majority and the prime minister's party has no majority in the cabinet. Does anyone today even remember that this concoction was supposed to stem political extortion?"

Worst of all, Arens notes, "this radical overhaul of the way the government works was foisted on us by a one-vote edge [Netanyahu's] and without even an absolute Knesset majority. In all other democracies, a special majority would have been mandated in this case, but here it was treated as if it were no more than raising the speed limit."

Arens admits that "it will be an excruciating uphill struggle to repeal the law, especially since a majority of 61 MKs is needed to amend anything, but he is not complaining."

This is as it should be. But long before we get to a new Knesset vote or try to change Netanyahu's mind, we to need take a leaf from the book of those who so cleverly whipped up public hysteria in favor of direct elections. They even collected impressive sums in the US from people upset by what they saw as the inordinate clout the old system gave the religious parties. Little did they know! I don't think they are laughing now. The joke is on all of us."

## SCARS

Continued from Page 10

Mulaw Avraham, 29, who served in the reconnaissance corps of the Givati brigade before later being transferred to a quartermaster position, hinted at this when he described his nephew Elad's March 1994 suicide. "The boy never talked to me about any problems he had in the army," Avraham said this week. "He was very introverted. I remember that he wanted to sign on for permanent army service and they didn't let him - he loved the army and was terribly disappointed. There may have been some instance of racism, but if there were, he never told me about it. I still don't understand it."

Indeed, many of the relatives of Ethiopian soldiers who committed suicide, who appeared before the committee, said they never knew the soldiers were in distress.

Shabtay insists that the suicides cannot be linked directly to racist remarks, and the army insists they were not connected to their army service.

"You can't predict suicide," she says. "You can't say someone got insulted and therefore committed suicide. It's just not logical. It's not enough of a reason. There were 10 suicides [of Ethiopian soldiers in the IDF since 1993] - each person has his own specific reasons, which are not necessarily tied to their army service. I'm not sure there is anything they all had in common."

Smirra rejected the current onslaught on the army since the suicides, and is worried it will only have a negative effect on the Ethiopians themselves. "I'm worried that every time one of them feels badly or discriminated against, instead of filing a complaint, they'll just think: 'Everyone's against us.' Smirra worries that such a feeling might lead to more, rather than fewer, tragic reactions on the part of Ethiopian soldiers.

But MK Adisu Massala (Labor) insists there is a link between racism and what he calls the "dramatic" increase in such suicides in the past three years. Massala said

suicide was practically unheard of in Ethiopia, although there was a rise in such incidents here immediately after Operation Moses in 1984, "mainly caused by the fact that there were so many people pining for their families still in Ethiopia."

Operation Solomon in 1991, he says, reunited those families, and suicide rates plummeted, "but unfortunately, the number of suicides in the army went up. So I conclude from this that the increase in suicides in the army is based on social issues within the IDF, and not related to the reunification of families."

Massala says that while the Ethiopian soldiers make up only 0.5 percent of the army population, they account for 10 percent of the suicides. If social or economic problems are to blame for the suicides, they should show up in the rest of the community, he says. And if one argues they only occur in the army because soldiers have access to guns, Massala points out that "you don't need a gun to commit suicide."

ETHIOPIAN soldiers interviewed confirmed hearing racial slurs during their service, but did not only fault the army. Avraham said the problem is that some soldiers "lack the ability to differentiate between an intention to hurt someone and a joke." He recalled "screwing up once" and leaving guard duty early. When he got back to his base from vacation, "all the guys lined up yelling: 'Kishi, you're going to jail for four weeks.' But they didn't mean to hurt me, they were just telling me I was in trouble. I understood where it was coming from." Avraham said that from his experience, "it's very hard for me to believe that there really is racism in the army."

Another problem, Avraham says, is that Ethiopian soldiers are reluctant to file complaints. In fact, Asemare's case might never have made headlines had a fellow soldier not intervened on his behalf and encouraged him to complain. "If something happens, then check the matter out thoroughly, go to your commander and complain," advises Avraham. "But if the whole thing was said as a joke, [then just accept it as] a way to



Making amends: Netanyahu and Avi Asemare, who was offended this week when an army clinic denied him treatment. (Brian Headley)

pass the time." However, Avraham notes that in the case of Alene Tamane of Ashkelon, "the guys in his unit told him they didn't want to drink from his cup because they were afraid they'd catch diseases - try to make it any easier for you. Then that same soldier goes home and sees the family problems there, and that hurts."

He admits the Ethiopians are too "closed within themselves," but just dismisses any epithets he

**MK Adisu Massala insists there is a link between racism and what he calls the "dramatic" increase in such suicides in the past three years.**

that's racism." His final advice? "You're going to run into all kinds of people in the army. Not every soldier is educated. Don't be hurt by everything that's said."

Ilan Yosef, 23, who served in the Border Police, does think there's discrimination, though he says he got along fine. He says his commanders didn't always take his needs for personal time off seriously enough. "They say, 'OK, we'll take care of it,' but they don't," he says. "You go talk to your commander, but they don't

hear, although that doesn't mean he isn't bothered by them. I give to the country to defend it, but [sometimes] people don't treat me well, and say things I shouldn't have to hear." Both Avraham and Yosef agreed more stress needs to be placed on educating non-Ethiopian officers. "The other side also needs to have these things explained to them," Yosef said.

Yossi Germal, 24, recently completed his Border Police service and says "there definitely is racism in the army, but it's not going to

change. There will always be racist people. And I say that it's unfair that this is happening to us. Look, we come to serve the country, and not just die like that. I prefer to die in real battle, instead of over what one of my commanders or friends says to me." While he was called *kishi*, "it was mostly as a joke," and if it wasn't, he filed complaints. "I want to contribute, and not have people pity me," he says, "to look at me as just another person."

Germal and Yosef expressed overall satisfaction with the Border Police service, which is no fluke. A Border Police spokesman said the 200 or so Ethiopians in the unit are "treated on a very individual basis," with "frequent home visits." Occasionally, the unit even intervenes to solve housing or other problems. Officers take special classes on the community and their special ties to their families.

The IDF also makes a major effort. According to Ragounis, these include frequent talks with soldiers to give them information and hear about any problems, meetings between members of the community and army officials, a special unit that deals with the soldiers, and an Ethiopian officer who serves as a liaison to handle complaints and questions from the community.

According to Ragounis, the Ethiopian soldiers said in a recent poll they enjoyed "full and appropriate social integration," their officers treated them satisfactorily, and that as individuals, they were treated well. Is it all enough? Massala, like Shabak, isn't convinced. Massala thinks IDF officers and soldiers should learn even more about the community's way of life and thinking. He also thinks the soldiers should be given more information about what to expect. "I don't want them to think every little remark is aimed against them," he says, "they should be taught how to be strong and face social pressures."

He recognizes that "army life isn't easy for anybody. And it is not my intention that Ethiopian soldiers be treated with kid gloves. But we are part of this society, and that is why our motivation to serve is so high. I believe the army is doing things; the problem is it is just not doing enough."



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MIDDLE ISRAEL

# The last Court Jew



By AMOTZ ASA-EL

**B**y the time he died nearly four centuries ago, Emperor Rudolf II's Court Jew, Marcus Meissel, had amassed a fortune worth some 500,000 florins, the direct and indirect rewards of his leadership in financing the ongoing Habsburg struggle with the Ottomans.

Conversely, when the 18-year-old, Munich-born Shaul Eisenberg embarked on the odyssey that would whisk him from Nazi Germany, through Holland, to the Far East, his entire savings - fully deposited in his pocket - totaled 20 florins.

However - like Meissel and the rest of the select, tightly knit and intra-related group of Jews who for more than a century pulled a web of financial strings connecting princelings, dukes and kingdoms stretching from Denmark to Ukraine and from Portugal to Austria - the Eisenberg legend of power and fortune also thrived in an economically staid and politically contentious setting.

Unfortunately, his sudden death last week has not helped shed new light on the life of the enigmatic, reclusive and secretive tycoon whose global value is estimated to have topped \$10 billion. Yet the man whose life elicited analogies to Jud Süß, Nathan Rothschild, Samson Wertheimer and other legendary Jewish financiers who soverly roamed genteel corridors of

power while supplying capital and accumulating wealth, offers in his death an epilogue to his tales.

The Court Jew, who - like Talmud-Torah graduate Eisenberg - were usually well rooted in their religious heritage but also thoroughly familiar with non-Jewish culture, did not sprout across Europe because of anyone's political whim or ideological design. Rather, they supplied the crucial economic needs of distinctively geographic and historical twilight zones.

At a time of pitched military clashes between Christians and Muslims and between Protestants and Catholics, the Court Jews offered to dozens of embattled autocrats not only the arms, capital and raw materials they so badly needed, but also the kind of political impartiality and global connections which few contemporary Christians could offer.

So did Eisenberg, though in Asia rather than Europe.

Already during the few weeks he spent on the vessel which rescued him from Hitler's claws, Eisenberg - according to a recent report in *Asia Times* by my colleague Yaroslav Trofimov - turned that 20-florin fund into a \$500 treasure, having learned that the ship's racist purser wouldn't sell his Chinese crewmen the liquor and cigarettes which he had and they sought.

That's where Eisenberg came in, not really producing anything but nevertheless providing an indispensable bridge between supply and demand, while charging the kind of commissions which would ultimately characterize his numerous, multi-million-dollar transcontinental deals.

Indeed, like the Court Jews who did so with anything from gunpow-

der to silver, Eisenberg usually took what already existed in one place and led it to a destination where it was in great demand, seldom actually launching from scratch a manufacturing enterprise.

Similarly, Zim, Oil Refineries, Israel Chemicals, and the rest of the holdings which adorn the sprawling Israeli business empire he nurtured in his last years were all created by others, long before Eisenberg gauged their value.

The Court Jew, unlike their brethren, were licensed to move and settle well beyond the ghetto's confines, often creating in this way small, well-to-do Jewish communities, like the one which evolved in Peter the Great's court and like that which Eisenberg founded and chaired in Japan.

And much like his predecessors, Eisenberg masterfully created for himself a unique physical and social maneuver space, first by importing, as early as 1940, Chinese carpets to Japan, then by marrying a Japanese princess, who had converted to Judaism for him, while utilizing her status in order to access Japan's elite - and finally by lending his services to war-torn South Korea.

Ultimately, like Samuel Oppenheimer - who equipped and fed Austria's army as it fought France in the 1670s, and like the Court Jew who supplied all of the Swedish army's horses during the Thirty Years' War - Eisenberg led the Chinese army's modernization drive, through mostly Israeli purchases, to an estimated overall net of well more than \$2 billion.

For most of his life, the perennially airborne Eisenberg seemed to belong simultaneously everywhere and nowhere; like the Court Jew,

whose strange combination of clout and rootlessness inspired some of the worst antisemitic myths. When World War II was over, Tokyo's American occupants naturally allowed him to fall in their bureaucracy's much-coveted "non-enemy" category, which smoothed his way to becoming a major supplier of iron and metal for what would eventually emerge as a formidable steel, shipping and automotive industry.

The Japanese, for their part, embraced the tall German-accented stranger who married into their elite and mastered their tongue. In the early 1950s, as Japan was reassembling its industrial branches, it included Eisenberg as a full member of a delegation of its leading industrialists which visited the US steel industry.

Most Court Jews originated in the Austro-German sphere. So did Eisenberg, who used this lineage to obtain an Austrian passport and serve as Vienna's honorary consul in various corners of the globe, including Seoul. And, like the Court Jew whose elaborate list of privileges was usually topped by comprehensive tax exemptions, Eisenberg too - through the benevolence of then-finance minister Pinhas Sapir - was given a similar, sweeping tax waiver, through special legislation, in turn for moving his headquarters to his ancestral land.

The decline of the Court Jew, who - like Eisenberg - thrived in absolutist states, came with the post-Napoleonic era's new world order and the industrial revolution's improved production and shipment methods, all of which rendered much of his services obsolete.

In the twilight years of his illu-

rious career, Eisenberg's time-honored advantages also began to wane amid a Zeitgeist of cyber-space transparency and a global emerging-market psychosis.

Once exotic countries like Uzbekistan or Vietnam, let alone Russia, India or China, suddenly became accessible to nearly everyone, a post-Cold War world could find little merit in his unique ability to ship forbidden cargoes over Chinese walls and through iron curtains.

Clearly, adjusting to these changes will now be the main challenge ahead of his heirs, as they prepare for the next century.

But Eisenberg, for his part, is likely to be remembered as the last Jewish mega-peddler, who thrived on purveying to the centralized economies of largely autocratic regimes, most notably China's, for which he is believed to have provided a major channel into Western markets, reminiscent of that which Armand Hammer built for the USSR.

But Eisenberg should also be recalled as the first Court Jew who began sinking roots in Zion, albeit only well after having established himself financially elsewhere, and after Israel had emerged a shining victor from the 1967 war.

And unlike the tragic aftermath of the most legendary of all Court Jews - the ostensibly omnipotent Jud Süß, whose abrupt hanging proved he had actually been even more vulnerable than ordinary stateless Jews - Eisenberg bequeathed his empire intact to his son Erwin, a fully fledged Israeli who served in the IDF.

A rather happy end to the Court Jew drama, at least from a Zionist vantage point.

## Dry Bones



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By BEVERLY BLACK

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### A VIEW FROM NOV



By MOSHE KOHN

**T**he immediately frightening aspect of the campaign of most Arab leaders to annihilate Israel either politically or physically (most would prefer both) is, of course, the toll it takes in dead and wounded on both sides.

In the long run, however, no less frightening is the way the anti-truth gas they spread has eroded the ability of even well-meaning people to distinguish truth from blood libel, history from fairy tale.

Even the oath of allegiance that Knesset members take does not deter some of them from disseminating that poison.

"There is nothing connecting the Jews to the Western Wall," one such poisoner, Arab Democratic Party MK Abdul Malik Dahmash, told Aaron Lerner, director of IMRA/Independent Media Review & Analysis, in an interview last week. He called as corroborators unnamed "knowledgeable Israeli sources."

The Western Wall is, of course, a remnant of the retaining wall built by Herod, and probably earlier Jewish builders as well, to contain the landfill with which they considerably enlarged the Temple Mount Compound from its original dimensions when it was the threshing floor of Arauna the Levite, from whom David bought the site some 30 centuries ago (I Chronicles 21:21-29).

Dahmash explained the Wall's alleged sanctity to Moslems: "When Mohammed took his horse to Jerusalem - and it was a special horse - he tied it to the Western Wall before he ascended into Heaven."

A long time ago, when Moslem scholars

# Mohammed's 'special horse'

spoke freely, some maintained Mohammed's account of a journey to "the farthest shrine" in the Koran's Sura 17 was a vision, not an actual journey. Of those who held it was a real journey, some said the destination was a mosque in Arabia; others, that it was Heaven; yet others - whose view eventually prevailed - that Mohammed indeed flew to Jerusalem astride his "special horse" Buraq.

Of course, the Jerusalem shrine that today bears the name "Farthest," Al-Aksa Mosque, did not exist in Mohammed's time.

Dahmash, asked to explain the ramifications of his view about the Western Wall, said: "We are not saying right now [emphasis mine - M.K.] that the Jews should be barred from Jerusalem. Everyone should have access and the Moslems should have access, just as the Moslems had access for 5,000 years before the Jews were there."

Of course, Islam is less than 1,400 years old; and the Jews have been "there" about 3,000 years.

The interview took place March 24, the day Jerusalem was celebrating Purim.

THE NEXT day Lerner interviewed Marwan Barghouti, secretary-general of Yasser Arafat's Fatah wing of the PLO.

Our purported peace partner believes it "is peaceful to throw stones."

Barghouti was defending the resolutions the Fatah Supreme Council adopted on March 23 in Beit Sahur. One resolution praised "the decision of the Palestinian Authority to free many prisoners" from PA prisons, and called on it "to free everyone" - including cold-blooded murderers of Arabs who helped the Israeli authorities as well as of Jews.

PEACE NOW's political secretary, Moshe Raz, in an interview with Lerner on March 26, defended the Arabs' right to throw stones at Jews living in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District.

On what grounds?

"Settlers are not civilians," Raz said. "They

aren't soldiers, but they aren't the same as someone in Tel Aviv."

True, in Tel Aviv the people Raz defends don't throw stones, they blow up people with bombs.

A FAMILIAR device of the anti-Zionist brand of antisemitism, from the beginning, has been to point to the Jews' alleged defacement of "historic Palestine's" pristine "biblical landscape" in general and Jerusalem's in particular.

So readers of the English-language *Jordan Times* and Internet surfers who stumbled into the PA website were recently told that "Jerusalem has been lost under Israel's frantic building projects." That is the headline of a canard by Chicagoan Dr. A. Clare Brandabur, who teaches English at Amman's Al Isra University.

Having just visited Jerusalem, Brandabur warned prospective Easter pilgrims that they "may not recognize the place." Because "The old pictures of the fabulous city whose crenellated walls, church spires and golden dome once crowned rolling forested hills where shepherds tended their flocks [she might have added: and where bandits roved freely - M.K.] no longer reflect the reality."

Now Jewish neighborhoods "all but choke" Jerusalem, and "swarm... over the hills like the malignant spores of some noxious fungus."

What a tragedy! While most of the Arab states, in collaboration with the self-appointed spokesmen of the Arab refugees of their 1948 and 1967 aggressions, left those refugees to languish in the hovels of their camps, the better to use them as political pawns against the Jews; while most of Israel's neighbors were investing huge chunks of their budgets in their military, political and propaganda campaigns against the Jews and Israel, we were - and still are - filling our country's and capital's landscapes with permanent homes for our homecoming people.

The aim of our "frantic building" in Jerusalem, says Brandabur, is not providing

homes for both Jews and Arabs, but "eradicating its Arab, Muslim and Christian identity."

For this building program is inspired by "Jewish fanatics [who] have an agenda which calls for the ultimate destruction of both... Al-Aksa [mosque] and Dome of the Rock, and Holy Sepulcher Church, as well as all the other churches."

She has "seen maps of the Holy City which shows all these non-Jewish holy places gone and in their place a future Temple of Solomon. This in spite of the consensus among archaeologists that Solomon's Temple was never... on the Haram al Sharif [Temple Mount] - many believe it was not even in Jerusalem."

Such fanatics and their doctored photos of Jerusalem indeed exist, and many Jews indeed dream of the day when Jerusalem will be restored to its Davidic and Solomonic glory. But those photos no more reflect an official view or consensual call for action than that alleged "consensus among archaeologists" reflects the view of any reliable archaeologist.

I pity Brandabur's students.

I pity the cause that is represented by such fanatical planners of "noxious fungus" as her, *The Jordan Times* and the "Palestine Ministry of Information."

(Thanks again to Aaron Lerner.)

A TRAGIC example of the insidious effect of the Arabs' propaganda on otherwise decent people is the apparent embarrassment of a pro-Zionist Jewish journalist by the designation of "settlers" as "Jews."

Frank Diamant, publisher of a regular columnist in the Canadian B'nai B'rith biweekly *The Jewish Tribune*, took *The Toronto Star* to task for "specifically [omitting] the word 'Israeli' but [choosing] to place on its front page the more scintillating description of 'Jewish' settlements."

What is more, Diamant complained, the banner headline "proclaims once again not 'Israeli Settlers,' but 'Jewish Settlers Group.'"

### SHABAT SHALOM



By SHLOMO RISKIN

**"And it came to pass on the eighth day, that Moses summoned Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel. He said to Aaron: 'Take yourself a young calf for a sin offering and a ram for a burnt offering, unblemished, and sacrifice them before God.'"** (Lev. 9:2)

**T**HIS week's Torah portion of Shmini highlights the dedication of the Sanctuary - a prototype for the inauguration of the two Temples and of synagogues in every generation. And marking the occasion are two kinds of animal sacrifices from which we have much to learn.

Rashi explains that the words *kash lecha* (take for yourself) make it clear that before the High Priest can discharge his responsibility to the nation, he must first expiate his own sin.

The expiation of Aaron is only

## Love your neighbor because he is like you

the first of two commandments: the Israelites then being told to bring a sin offering and a burnt offering exactly paralleling the offerings of Aaron, but with one major twist: whereas the calf (recalling the egel hazzahav, the golden calf) of Aaron comes as a sin offering, the calf that the Israelites must bring comes as a whole burnt offering (olah).

In this apparent discrepancy we begin to gain a deeper insight into the sin of the golden calf.

Two distinct elements characterize this sin - the role of the people and the role of Aaron. When Moses doesn't come down from Sinai, the people start looking for a replacement. Desperate, they turn to the high priest to make them a calf, which he agrees to do because he understands their request as a search, not for another God, but for another Moses. After all, did not the people cry out: "Moses who took us out of Egypt is not here...?"

Aaron's sin lay in his false assessment of what would happen. Aaron believed that what the people wanted was a temporary intermediary between them and God. Hence, after he fashions the calf, he proclaims: "Tomorrow is a feast day to God" (Ex. 32:5). Aaron didn't expect the people to turn the symbol into a God in its own right. Therefore his sin, as the Kli Yakar (1550-1619) points out, is consid-

ered unintentional. And as expiation he must bring a young calf as a sin offering.

The sin offering, after all, is brought for unintentional capital transgressions. However, when the Israelites are commanded to bring a young calf, it's not for a sin offering, but for a whole burnt offering (olah), which atones for wrongful thoughts and intentions - the masses of Jews saw the calf as a god.

They danced around the idol, and - according to the Midrash - engaged in idolatry, murder and illicit sexual contacts. And since the rank and file sinned intentionally not only in thought but also in deed, they had to bring a second sacrifice, a goat (se'ir) as their sin offering.

The se'ir represents the manifestation of evil for the sake of evil. The Bible commands the Israelites not to sacrifice animals again to the se'ir, around which they would practice immorality (Lev. 17:7).

And please note that the allure of the netherworld and Samite rites is not something that disappears easily. To this day, there are those who form Satanic cults which lure the young and energetic, whose lusts, when undisciplined, lead them to acts of physical violence and sexual assault.

For the nation, the sin of the golden calf must be atoned for by

the goat (se'ir), which symbolizes our willingness to sacrifice our excessive appetites to the purification and sublimation of the Divine.

And there may be another reason for the goat sacrifice, a reason that further elucidates the sin of idolatry. After all, why does the Midrash teach that around the calf the Jews indulged not only in idolatry, but in adultery and murder as well?

The Meshech Hochma (R. Meir Simcha Hakohen of Dvinsk) quotes the Torat Kohanim, which has God speaking to the Jewish people and reminding them of our sinful history, linking the sin of the calf with the sin of a goat: "At the beginning... they took Joseph's coat and so... dipped the coat in the blood of goats..." (Gen. 37:31) in order to bring back evidence that Joseph was killed by a ferocious beast. And in the end they sinned when they made for themselves a golden calf."

In quoting the Midrash, the Meshech Hochma emphasizes that the two great sins of the Jewish people - the sin of Joseph's brothers and the sin of the golden calf - are linked. According to Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, the willingness of the brothers to kill Joseph is the result of an idolatrous mindset. Rejecting God leads to the rejection of one's brothers. Accepting God leads to the recognition of a common humanity.

The world is a vast and amazing place. How are we supposed to make our way in this vast maze? Rarely do we treat another nation, another people, another race with respect and decency.

The belief in one God implies that there is one Creator-Parent, and therefore a universal brotherhood. But an idolatrous mindset creates different gods for different people.

What happens between Joseph and his brothers is really the record of all human struggles. The "other" is the enemy because he is not one of us. His appearance is not like ours, his ideas are not our ideas, his dreams are not our dreams. And since he is different, he is to be feared and, if possible, even destroyed!

"And you shall love your neighbor as yourself, for I am God." Why does the verse add "for I am God"? Once you accept that there is one God, then you have to accept that every human being is made from the same Divine substance.

The literal meaning of that verse is: Love your neighbor because he is like you. People must learn to love their fellow human beings as extensions of themselves. Only with this understanding can a Temple be properly dedicated.

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## THE WEEK THAT WAS

## House of shame off to spring recess

By NICHAL TUDELMAN

The Knesset wound up its winter session this week with a sorry spectacle which may come to be regarded as a historical disgrace.

A bill passed its first reading which gives Orthodox Jewry the sole right of conversion in Israel, thereby concurrently angering and alienating the vast majority of Jews in the rest of the world.

The conversion bill will make Israel the first democratic state which legally discriminates against Jewish citizens by distinguishing between "kosher" Jews and "flawed" ones.

The shameful act of expediency was led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and supported by his coalition partners — including those once committed to fighting against religious coercion, such as the Third Way and Yisrael. The supporters included Yisrael Ba'aliya, whose voters are likely to be the largest single group of victims of the "conversion" bill.

Netanyahu launched a fuzzy smoke-screen campaign to persuade people the bill merely "preserves the status quo." American Jewry is appalled and repelled by the initiative and fought against it, and why? Because, says Netanyahu, they just don't understand the conversion bill.

Could it perhaps be that it is Netanyahu who doesn't understand? Apparently he does not understand the difference between an existing (also unjust) status quo, which there was always hope of rectifying, as opposed to locking that injustice into

state legislation. Where, wondered aghast Reform and Conservative Americans, is all that alleged democratic liberalism we were told he had absorbed during all those years in the United States?

MKS pointed out that Netanyahu availed himself of Conservative services when he married his second wife, Fleur, a Christian who underwent a Conservative conversion.

Netanyahu, who was married in a Conservative ceremony by a Conservative rabbi, does not hesitate now to vote for disqualifying Conservative rabbis world-wide, the MKs said.

Netanyahu petulantly attacked any mention of his past as "a base intrusion into my private life." Angry Reform rabbis interviewed on American television stations did not hesitate to mention Netanyahu's intrusion into the private lives of their congregations — nor did they hesitate to remind him bluntly of the millions of Jews across the world who had been loyal supporters of Israel and whose organizations were among its major contributors.

Coalition parties, said cynical Israeli commentators, are expected to become morally bankrupt. Some wondered if, through lack of Hebrew or a knowledge of the details, the 200,000 new Russian immigrants branded by the Orthodox establishment as "not real" Jews, have failed to realize yet that their own leaders have sold them down the river.

## THE SLINK-OUT

Expediency, cowardice and moral bankruptcy may be cited as the government's excuse for the conversion

law.

But what of Labor?

Where was the moral outrage from the major opposition party, whose leaders are expected to show us the alternative path? They provided the most shameful and abject display of all. Labor's golden-boy leadership candidate and "straight arrow," Ehud Barak, former IDF chief of staff and a war hero, chickened out and ran when it came to facing the enemy.

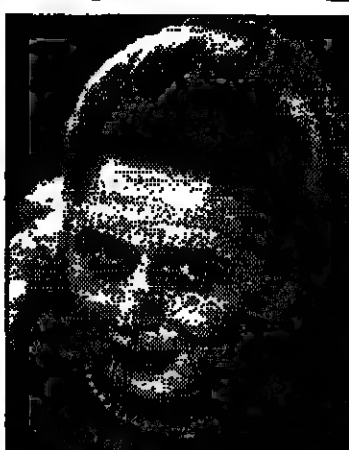
Along with other leadership hopefuls Yossi Beilin and Ephraim Sneh, he disappeared from the Knesset on voting day. Nine others, including faction chairman Ra'anana Cohen no less, also evaporated like the puppet Dan Meridor in *Hatzfah*.

The next day the renegades and slink-outs were subjected to a shower of abuse from colleagues.

The ultimate price of their cowardice may be higher. Reform and Conservative communities indicate they now recognize what spineless wimps lurk behind the brave new words. The religious and haredi parties will not forget that Labor officially decided to oppose the law. And what of the respect Barak, Sneh & Co. were claiming to be winning from the Israeli public?

## F's ALL ROUND

As the parliamentary session drew to a close, Knesset correspondents marked MKs' report cards for their performance. It was mostly "F's" all round. *Ma'ariv* said the most contemptible collective act was the way MKs raised their own salaries once again — in addition to the 33 percent approved by the previous Knesset.



Suba Arad

(AP)

In addition, they decided they each deserve two parliamentary aides instead of one and they increased their personal allowances considerably. Shame indeed on the shameless.

A rare excellence award went to Labor MK Ophir Pines, 35, a new boy who nonetheless conducts himself as one born to the House. Pines was judged one of the most alert, active and effective of MKs.

Commentators cited his three appeals to the High Court of Justice — against closing Jerusalem's Bar-Ilan Street, against appointing Roni Bar-On as attorney-general, and against a bid to appoint political directors-general to ministries. All three enjoyed degrees of success.

The MK considered most worthy of condemnation and scorn was Mokedet's Rehavam Ze'evi. Almost unbelievably, he twice called American Ambassador Martin

Indyk a "Jewboy" and didn't even bother to apologize publicly.

Netanyahu and Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon also picked up black marks from diplomatic reporters for failing to reprimand Ze'evi or call him to order — in fact for doing nothing at all.

Isomet's Haim Dayan was a clear winner as the most despicable performance, however, for brazenly insisting on leading the Knesset debate on violence against women while under a storm of controversy on suspicion of beating his wife.

The most disappointing MK was Labor chairman Shimon Peres, who swapped the New Middle East for the New Wimpy Opposition. He refrained conspicuously from attacking Netanyahu, in the obvious hope of being invited into a unity government. Netanyahu couldn't have been blessed with a better position of convenience.

Finally, the Knesset attracted scorn for its image as a sanctuary for those on the run. A record number of members were under investigation, faced criminal charges or stood trial. The most prominent of the unholy 15 were Netanyahu, Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert, Dedi Zuckerman, Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan, Haim Dayan and of course, overtaking them all, Aryeh Deri and his never-ending trial.

## SUBA'S PET PEEVE

Suba Arad never loses the opportunity to lobby visiting dignitaries for funds for her pet charity projects — one of them a Gaza maternity hospital. This week a European diplomat on a private visit was whisked along by Madame Arad to see the maternity hospital's needs, along with a television crew and PR minions in full tow.

Inside, they found themselves gazing into an infant cot and into the bright eyes of ... a cat, cozily curled up in the cradle. The cat seemed mildly irritated at being disturbed. "Get this cat out of here," shrieked a mortified Suba at the doctor in charge, as a PR nightmare swam before her eyes.

"Madame, there are 149 more cats around this hospital," said the doctor in quiet despair. "How do you expect me to get rid of them all?"

"If we could rid Gaza of the Israelis," snapped the leader's wife, "don't you think you might be able to get rid of a cat?"

## GRAPEVINE

## Peregrinations of Peres

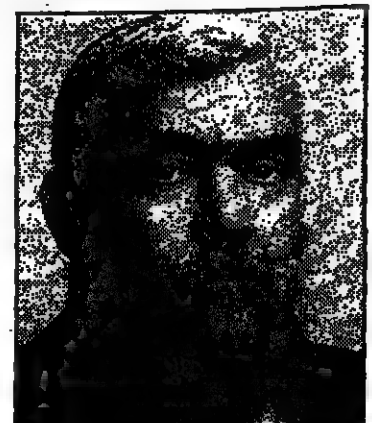
By GREER FAY CASHMAN

The peregrinations of peripatetic Labor leader Shimon Peres are nothing short of remarkable. Just back from Thailand, with no signs of jet lag, he's now off on his third visit to Brazil. Both destinations are grueling in terms of flying time from Israel, but Peres, who in recent months has also made several trips to Europe and the US, seems to thrive on the challenge. At a reception held in his honor this week by Brazilian Ambassador Paulo Assumpcao, Peres betrayed no evidence of the political aggravations brought on by rifts in party unity and spent most of his time in earnest discussion with US Ambassador Martin Indyk.

Peres told his host that he was a very courageous man to have a leader of the opposition as his guest

before Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy is back in the driver's seat. Levy, whose traffic violations necessitated his taking a special refresher course, failed the theory test. Jerusalem mayor Ehud Olmert, who had to take a similar course, completed it without any problems in an intensive two-day session.

AT THE 20th anniversary celebrations at the Israel Museum of the Israel office of the Anti-Defamation League, Israel office director Harry Wall described his job as being "a frontline seat on history." When the office opened, he said, Israel had few friends, and the situation over the last two weeks resembles that of 1977, he quipped. Among the faces in the crowd were former ambassadors to the US Simcha Dinitz, Zalman Shoval, and Moshe Arad as well as former consul-general in



Yitzhak Levy

(Yav Or)



Ehud Olmert

(Isaac Harari)

of honor. He also expressed appreciation for Latin America's support for Israel since the beginning of the state.

Comparing developments in this part of the world with those of Brazil, Peres observed that 10 years ago, the Brazilian ambassador would never have invited the ambassador of the US to a reception.

EARLIER IN the week, when participating at a memorial tribute to diplomat and statesman Ya'acov Herzog on the 25th anniversary of his death, Peres, when referring to Herzog's remarkable ability to mingle with equal ease among all strata of society, observed that "there's no problem in relations between Orthodox and secular Jews but between Orthodox and secular parties."

In recalling Herzog's in-depth knowledge of the Vatican, Peres could not resist providing a lesson for tomorrow by repeating someone else's comment that Christianity would never have come about if the Jews had been more tolerant. Herzog was the first Israeli envoy to meet with King Hussein, a fact recalled by his brother Chaim Herzog as well as Peres. Even as a boy, said Chaim Herzog, his brother had demonstrated signs of brilliance and had corresponded with Clement Attlee. For Pinna Herzog it was an extremely moving experience to see so many of her husband's former colleagues gathered in one place to honor his memory.

IT'S STILL going to take some time

New York Naphtali Lavie and IDF spokesman Oded Ben Ami, a former Israel Radio correspondent in the US.

AND TALKING of married couples, when Michael Greenspan, the affable anchor for *Jerusalem On Line*, interviewed Ramat Aviv Gimmel star Gila Ankori, some viewers may have noticed the special rapport and the undercurrent of private jokes. Although it wasn't announced on the program, the couple are husband and wife.

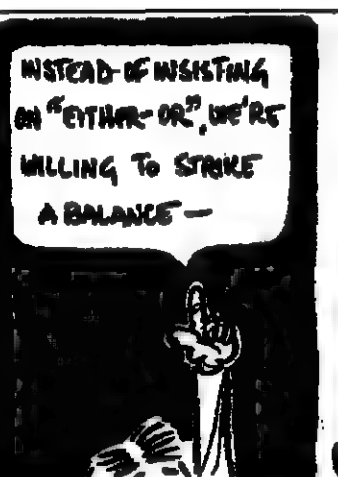
WHEN THIRD Way MK Alex Lubotzky, at the head of a delegation which called on President Ezer Weizman this week, enquired after the president's health, Weizman, who is still recovering from surgery, bluntly retorted: "You haven't come here to talk about my welfare, you've come about the conversion bill."

THE LONGEST 10 years in a woman's life are supposedly between 29 and 30, but Pretty Woman Julia Roberts didn't wait that long to make the change. Roberts, who turned 30 this week, makes no pretense at being younger.

FORMER MUSICAL comedy star Debbie Reynolds turned 65 this week, just a short period after former arch-rival Elizabeth Taylor celebrated her own 65th. Apart from their age and their professions, what the two actresses have in common is an ex-husband called Eddie Fisher. Reynolds had him first.

## BRULIK

by DOSH



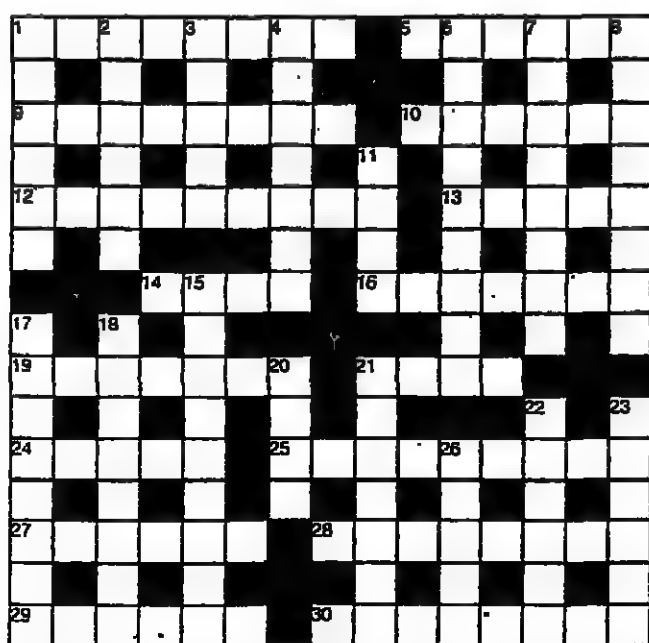
## CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

## ACROSS

- 1 USA seems prepared to supply rubber (8)
- 5 Enhanced the appearance? That's not true (4,2)
- 9 A six-legged heel (8)
- 10 The individual who burns to be an entertainer (6)
- 12 Plant rush to excellent effect (9)
- 13 Bringing a highly-qualified person in with all speed (5)
- 14 Frank way to start (4)
- 16 Clubs for motorists (7)
- 19 Don't agree to a full reconstruction (4,3)
- 21 A top man some think ingenious (4)
- 24 Put in order for a large stove (5)

## DOWN

- 25 Affected to be solicitous (9)
- 27 Note rates and allowances (6)
- 28 True as can be about valuables (8)
- 29 The occupation of a number at the riverside (6)
- 30 Supporter of innovative head before split (8)
- 1 Worry for the French in the majority (6)
- 2 He dines out on the fourth of July (8)
- 3 Retired in the main (5)
- 4 Taking issue about press operator (7)
- 6 Making a move to it again, cause quite a to-do (9)



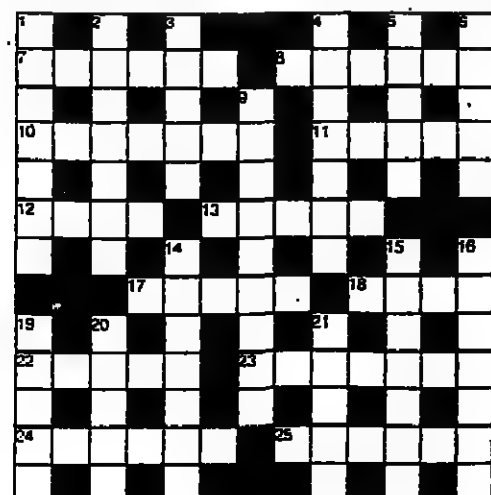
## SOLUTIONS

WELLWISHER WARD  
I A O P K G O E  
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S O O R R A I E S I  
S O U S H I N E S B U R S  
F A R T S S  
A N I M A L S S C A M P E R  
I N P  
G O A  
R E G R E T S P I E R R O T  
O R I T S  
R E M I T T I O N T I U E V  
O U N G N A U O E  
U N D E R D O N E N E L L Y  
N E S U D I T O  
D O L T S T R E T C H O U T

Yesterday's Quick Solution  
ACROSS: 1 Navy, 4 Galters, 8 Nurture, 9 Fight, 10 Thang, 11 Certain, 13 Eyed, 15 Pierre, 17 Gateau, 20 Leer, 23 Ill-will, 24 Bijou, 26 Ample, 27 Pitfall, 28 Theatre, 29 Slaky.  
DOWN: 1 Non-stop, 2 Verdi, 3 Younger, 4 Greece, 5 Infer, 6 Engrave, 7 Satish, 12 Edge, 14 Yell, 16 Ellipse, 18 Archer, 19 Usually, 21 Elapse, 22 Inapt, 23 Inert, 25 Jeanne.

## QUICK CROSSWORD

## ACROSS



- 7 Irritates (6)
- 8 Captured (6)
- 10 Copy (7)
- 11 Last (5)
- 12 Pace (4)
- 13 Bishop's headwear (5)
- 17 Commence (5)
- 18 Indigent (4)
- 22 Map (5)
- 23 Agree (7)
- 24 Mend (6)
- 25 Shooting star (6)

## DOWN

- 1 Opposed to (7)
- 2 Seaman (7)
- 3 Licit (5)
- 4 Hostilities (7)
- 5 Representative (5)
- 6 Coral island (5)
- 9 Think back (9)
- 14 Sure (7)
- 15 Eternally (7)
- 16 Speech-making (7)
- 19 Frighten (5)
- 20 Cheerful (5)
- 21 Finished (5)

L'expression personnelle



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The eight-page New York Times Weekly Review including US and world news and views, business, arts and crossword distributed free with THE JERUSALEM POST every Monday

## THE JEWS OF PIEDMONT &amp; LOMBARDY



From the 14th century onwards, Jews escaping persecution settled in Piedmont, which was part of the Duchy of Savoy, and there is evidence from the 12th century of Jews living in Lombardy, part of the Duchy of Milan.

The English speaking tour, organized by JEWISH HISTORICAL SEMINARS and ZIONTOURS, takes place from Monday, JUNE 16, until Thursday, JUNE 26.

Led by Prof. Yom Tov Assis of the Dept. of the History of the Jewish People, of the Hebrew University, an 11 day tour will visit Carmagnola, Cherasco, Biella, Verelli, Casale Monferrate, Saluzzo, Cuneo Mondovi, and the numerous Jewish quarters of Turin and Milan.

The price of US\$2495 includes return flight by scheduled airline, double-room accommodation in first-class hotels, full daily buffet breakfast, kosher Shabbat dinner and lunch, nine lectures, excellent local guide, all entrance fees, touring in luxury buses, transfers, etc.

Full information and reservations from: Debbie Zuberi, ZIONTOURS, 19 Rehov Hillel, Jerusalem 91025. Tel. 02-5345191. Fax. 02-5700005. e-mail: zuberi@netvision.net.il Jo-Anne Greenblatt, Tel. 02-5342079. Land arrangements only: US\$1845. Please register early, as our last trips were booked up quickly.

هكذا من النجمل



Friday,  
April 4, 1997

# BUSINESS & FINANCE

15

## HI-TECH NEWS

By Jennifer Friedlin

### Maxiv wins \$1m. Thai deal

Maxiv, a company that provides a digital solution for monitoring traffic, has won a \$1m. contract with the Thailand Police. According to the terms of the agreement, the Thailand Police will install Maxiv's system in its traffic-surveillance infrastructure. The company's system incorporates cameras, monitors and alarms and assists police in locating road accidents and traffic violations.

### New videoconferencing program for Internet

MediaSonic Multimedia Systems of Petah Tikva and Analog Devices have announced that they will jointly launch a PC videoconferencing program called iCOM. Designed to allow videoconferencing over the Internet, iCOM will sell for \$300 - \$350 in Europe and the US, including camera and application software. Analog Devices has also announced a licensing agreement with Westmoss Peripherals, a Singapore-based CD-Rom-drive manufacturer under a royalty arrangement with Mediasonic. Mediasonic also announced an agreement with Sony for integration of a Sony videoconferencing camera within the iCOM system.

### Messer raises \$4m. for five start-ups

Messer, a division of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, recently announced that it raised \$4m. in private money to be distributed among five Israeli start-ups. The beneficiaries are medical-device makers Ultraguide, Rooster, Orsense and Carmel Medical, and Comview, which develops videoconferencing equipment. A Messer spokesman said that the undisclosed investors came from the US and Singapore.

### Orckit wins outstanding exporter award

The Israel-France Chamber of Commerce named Orckit the outstanding exporter for 1996. Based in Tel Aviv, Orckit manufactures systems that digitally transmit data and voice over the telephone network. The company's 1996 revenues totalled \$10.7m.

### Oshap ups holdings in Decalog to 75.2%

Oshap Technologies Ltd. has increased its holding in its subsidiary, Decalog BV, from 50.5% to 75.2%. Decalog, a Dutch company, manufactures software products and provides office consulting services. Its flagship product, IDEE, is a portfolio management tool. Oshap is a software group whose holdings include a 28.2% stake in Technomatrix Technologies Ltd.

### TTR and DCA enter marketing agreement

TTR Technologies Ltd. and Doug Carson & Associates, Inc., announced their intention to enter into an agreement to implement TTR's DiscGuardTM technology as an option in DCA's Mastering Interface System, an anti-piracy technology. MIS enables the mass production of non-reproducible optical media, while DiscGuard prevents counterfeiting and the illegal replication of video. Based in Kfar Sava, TTR Technologies Ltd., wholly owned by US-based TTR Inc., is primarily engaged in the design, development and marketing of products designed to protect intellectual-property rights.

### 2AM launches internet multiplayer game service

2AM Inc., a developer of online multiplayer games, has launched its 2AM Game Club. The site, which can be accessed at www.2am.com, allows up to 1,000 players from around the world to compete simultaneously. Players can also "chat" to each other while playing. Based in Beit Shemesh, 2AM has developed multiplayer business simulations and games for the Internet.

### VirtualLand seeks \$2m. in private placement

VirtualLand, a start-up that develops an application for interactive, real-time, 3-D television games and quiz shows, is seeking to raise \$2m. in a private placement. The company is currently developing two products, a five-minute television game that can be broadcast as part of a television game show from a studio to home viewers and a 25-minute quiz show that can be broadcast independently via interactive TV. The company expects to finish development of the products by the third quarter of 1997.

## First quarter internal revenue up 4.7%

By DAVID HARRIS

State income in the first quarter of 1997 totaled NIS 26.8 billion, a 4.7 percent increase in real terms compared with the same period last year (NIS 23.3b.), the Treasury announced yesterday.

A day before the publication of the figures, Finance Minister Dan Meridor said they were the key statistics in deciding whether to implement a second budget cut in 1997. The Knesset approved a NIS 7.2b. budget cut on December 31 to restrict the annual deficit to the government-set target of 2.8% of gross domestic product. Much of the need for that cut was brought about by a considerable shortfall in income for 1996.

Some economists and politicians are now suggesting the Finance Ministry should not av public spending, but rather offset the ongoing deficit by increasing taxation. One of the proposals currently gaining weight in the Knesset and favored by some senior Treasury officials is a 1% increase in VAT. This would add some NIS 1.5b. to the government coffers, the Customs and VAT department confirmed yesterday.

The Income and Property Tax department collected NIS 14.7b. in the first quarter, up 7% from the same period last year, with a 10.6% increase in income tax revenues, but a 28% decline in property tax.

There was a 2% overall increase in income to the Customs and VAT department, which ended the quarter with NIS 11.5b. This represents a 12% drop in import duties, following a reduction in imports of durable goods. Local taxes, excluding VAT, increased 7% and VAT collection rose 5%.

The various taxes payable to government ministries increased in real terms by 8%. Imports of motor vehicles fell 5% to 10,800 last month compared with March 1996; television imports dropped some 38%; refrigerators 31%; dishwashers 27%; and VCRs 5%. Meanwhile, there was a 22% increase in the import of washing machines.

## ANZ Banking opens Jerusalem branch

By Jerusalem Post Staff

ANZ Banking Group Ltd., one of Australia's four largest banks, this week became the first foreign bank to offer retail services in Israel, through its newly opened branch in eastern Jerusalem's Salah a-Din Street.

The bank, which has some \$100 billion in assets throughout 43 mostly Asian countries, said it will focus on winning corporate and institutional business across the Middle East, which is why it chose to locate in an Arab section of Jerusalem.

The Bank of Israel welcomed the move, suggesting that other foreign banks follow suit, thus enhancing domestic competition in the banking sector.

During a meeting between Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel and ANZ's chairman Don Mercer, discussions centered on the long-term possibility of Tel Aviv becoming the financial center for the Middle East.

Israeli bankers hope the bank will help speed up cooperation between Israel and the leading Asian financial centers, given ANZ's interests in China, Japan, South Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia.

Foreign banks' presence in Israel's financial sector is still limited, and remains focused on corporate business, share-offer underwriting, and other non-retail activity.

## MARZOOK

Continued from Page 1

Marzook's release, Reno said, "It is in the INS process, and we are reviewing all of our options."

Marzook said he expected to be sent to Jordan following Israel's decision to drop its extradition request. Jerusalem sources also said that contacts were being held with the US and Jordan to turn Marzook over to Jordan.

"My understanding is that everything is done," Marzook said, in an interview in the New York prison where he has been held since July 1995. "I think they are going to do something before Monday."

Jordan would "look favorably" on any request by the US to send Marzook to the country, Jordan's prime minister said yesterday.

Prime Minister Abdul-Salam Majall said in an interview with Reuters Television in Washington: "If the Americans are asking Jordan to let him go back to the area and be in Jordan, Jordan will look into it and try to help."

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said in Washington yesterday that the decision is only to suspend the request. He said "deserves justice for everything he's done" and that Israel and "other states" are discussing what to do with Marzook now. He refused to state that Jordan is one of them.

The decision not to demand Abu Marzook's extradition puts the Netanyahu government, which has consistently demanded the extradition of terrorists, in a difficult position, Jerusalem sources admitted yesterday.



### Zim welcomes Chinese

Zim acting president and CEO Yoram Sebbra (right) welcomes Chen Zhongbiao, the president of Cosco, the Chinese shipping company, to Haifa yesterday, as Chinese Transportation Ministry representative Huang Zhengdong and an interpreter look on.

(Paul Melling)

## Tel Aviv, Jerusalem hoteliers forecast sharp drop in spring occupancy

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Occupancy in hotels in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv is expected to drop by about 25 percent during Pessah as a result of cancellations by tourists from abroad, according to the Hotel Association.

Pinna Elazar, a spokesperson for the association, said the cancellations came from both individuals and groups who had planned to

spend the holiday in Israel. As a result, she said, the average occupancy in Jerusalem would be about 70% during Pessah, while in Tel Aviv it would remain between 60% and 70%, instead of the 90% to 100% that had been anticipated for both cities. The average occupancy will be about the same as last year, when tourism fell sharply due to terror attacks and political instability.

"The cancellations are also coming in for the long range. They see that the tension is not a short-term affair," said Yonatan Harpaz, director of the Jerusalem Hotel Association.

The cancellations were across the board, from both Europe and the US, he said. Harpaz said that some Jerusalem hotels still expect occupancy of almost 100% for the first few nights of the holiday, but after that many hotels would suffer a sharp drop. Jerusalem has

about 8,400 hotel rooms, of which the 6,400 in the western part of the city had hoped for brisk Pessah business.

In other parts of the country, where the hotels depend mostly on Israelis for their Pessah business, the outlook is more optimistic. The association said it is still possible to find rooms in Eilat, at the Dead Sea, Tiberias, Netanya and in kibbutzim, but many hotels are already fully booked.

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Pound sterling	5.4544	5.5424	5.36	5.82	5.5085
French franc	0.5800	0.5988	0.57	0.61	0.5965
Japanese yen (100)	2.7088	2.7500	2.65	2.79	2.7372
Dutch florin	1.7688	1.7954	1.73	1.83	1.7658
Swiss franc	2.5102	2.5475	2.27	2.38	2.3388
Swedish krona	0.4347	0.4418	0.42	0.45	0.4401
Norwegian krona	0.4889	0.4948	0.47	0.51	0.4884
Danish krona	0.6213	0.6298	0.51	0.54	0.5288
Finnish mark	0.6628	0.6735	0.65	0.69	0.6701
Canadian dollar	2.3983	2.4370	2.35	2.48	2.4232
Australian dollar	2.5970	2.6389	2.58	2.68	2.6295
S. African rand	0.7518	0.7698	0.68	0.77	0.7599
Belgian franc (10)	0.9591	0.9787	0.94	1.00	0.9736
Austrian schilling (10)	2.8244	2.8700	2.77	2.91	2.8541
Italian lira (1000)	1.9995	2.0318	1.98	2.05	2.0243
Jordanian dinar	4.6300	4.9400	4.85	4.94	4.7832
Egyptian pound	0.8500	1.0500	0.85	1.03	1.0242
ECU	3.8579	3.9303			3.9099
Irish punt	5.2453	5.3900	5.15	5.41	5.2976
Spanish peseta (100)	2.9477	2.9856	2.30	2.42	2.3781

\*These rates vary according to bank.

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## NEWS

in brief

## IMA: MDs won't give AIDS info to schools

Doctors may not violate privacy rules by giving schools information about pupils who are AIDS patients or HIV carriers, the Israel Medical Association said yesterday.

IMA chairman Dr. Yoram Blachar said that the Education Ministry's instructions "violate the law and rules of medical ethics. Medical information belongs to the patient or to his family if he is a minor."

We will instruct all physicians to preserve, at all costs, the privacy and dignity of the patient and avoid violation of medical confidence," he said. *Judy Siegel*

## 53 soldiers said involved in ski holiday scam

The IDF suspects a travel agent won 53 soldiers time off for ski holidays abroad by tricking commanding officers into giving them athletes' passes.

Police arrested the agent, who is believed to have written bogus letters from the Israeli Ski Instructors Association to the army, claiming the troops were part of a youth ski team going on week-long training courses. The army gives top athletes time off to hone their skills during their military service.

The scam was apparently operating for several years. Each soldier paid the travel agent \$1,600 for the vacation "package." *Itim*

## Police boosting unit that fights 'Russian mafia'

The police will increase its unit that fights international crime from 20 to 100 officers, to take on "Russian mafia" operations here, Internal Security Ministry spokeswoman Linda Menuhin said yesterday.

Police are especially concerned about expanding money laundering activities.

In 1996, the "Russian mafia" has poured between \$3 billion and \$4b. into Israel, said Menuhin.

The money is invested in industrial and business concerns and real estate, Menuhin said.

A special squad will be formed to uncover money laundering operations, and changes in the law are planned to enable the police to deal with the problem more effectively, she said. *AP*

## Ethiopians to protest Israel Prize decision

MK Adisu Massala will head a protest today by Ethiopian immigrants opposite the home of Ma'ariv journalist Shmuel Schnitzer in Ramat Aviv, demanding that he give up the Israel Prize he is to be awarded on Independence Day.

According to the group, Schnitzer wrote racist articles in which he denigrated the Ethiopian community, calling them "carriers of dangerous diseases" and describing their aliya as "an import of death." They claim such comments make him unworthy of the prize. *Artyeh Dean Cohen*

## No British boycott on Jerusalem products

Britain does not intend to boycott Israeli products made in Jerusalem, despite media reports to the contrary, British Ambassador David Manning said during a meeting yesterday with MK Yehuda Harel (Third Way).

Manning also reassured Harel that Britain had ratified the European Union-Israel association agreement before President Weizman's visit to Britain in March and intends to adhere to it.

Harel also met US Ambassador Martin Indyk to discuss the impasse in the peace process. "I didn't hear suggestions from the Americans for a clear route out of the mud," said Harel. *David Harris*

## Hefetz: New Detention Law will increase liberties

The new Detention Law that goes into effect next month will limit police infringement on the civil liberties of suspects, Police Insp.-Gen. Assaf Hefetz said yesterday, during a briefing at the Central District's annual summation conference.

However, given the state of police lockups, it will be difficult to ensure suspects' rights, he added.

Under the law a person cannot be held for more than 24 hours without being brought before a judge, instead of the current 48 hours.

Hefetz also said that police stations will have to assume a greater role in law enforcement, taking more responsibilities from district offices. *Itim*

## Suspected terrorist horse shot dead

Shortly before midnight, border policemen shot and killed a horse that broke through the gate of Neveh Dekalim in Gush Katif, fearing it had been boobytrapped with explosives. Sappers later checked the horse, but apparently found no explosives. Boobytrapped donkeys have been used by terrorists in the Gaza Strip before. Tension in the area is still high after two suicide bombers in Palestinian Police uniform blew themselves up prematurely on Tuesday at the Netzarim junction and outside Kfar Darom, minutes before school buses carrying Jewish children were to pass by. *Margot Dudkevitch*

## Rubinstein passes polygraph

Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein informed the High Court of Justice yesterday that he passed the required polygraph examination on Tuesday.

Accordingly, Rubinstein asked the court to drop the petition filed by the Council for Quality Government following his earlier refusal on principle to submit to a lie detector test.

Justices Eliezer Goldberg, Eliahu Mazza, and Dalia Dorner had offered Rubinstein two alternatives: to take the polygraph test

required of all civil servants of his grade or to withdraw from the committee examining the need for polygraph testing in the Civil Service. If he chose the second alternative, the justices said, all polygraph testing in the Civil Service would be suspended.

Rubinstein had informed the court that a team headed by retired Supreme Court justice Dov Levin would examine the issue and make recommendations to the review committee. He had asked the court to wait until Levin's team made its recommendations.

However, the court criticized Rubinstein for dragging out the issue. Justice Dorner accused the attorney-general of creating his own private arrangement exempting him from taking the required polygraph.

In effect, the High Court accepted the argument of the Council for Quality Government, which stated that the fact Rubinstein had not taken a polygraph before entering office discriminates against other workers in and candidates for the Civil Service, and that without having taken the

test, he could not serve on the committee evaluating the issue.

Rubinstein told the court he had decided to take the test, "in order to remove all doubt or apparent suspicion that the principled position I have expressed should be interpreted as a personal matter, and of course out of respect for the proposal of the esteemed court."

The attorney-general also informed the court that the Levin team's recommendation that the Levin team's recommendations had been submitted yesterday to the prime minister. *(Itim)*



A new perspective

Interior Minister Eli Suissa (left) and Amnon Lorch, director-general of the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, pose at the new lookout point opened yesterday on the Mount of Olives.

## Syria apparently boycotting monitoring committee

By DAVID RUDGE

Syria has apparently decided to temporarily boycott the Grapes of Wrath monitoring committee — the only official body where Syrian and Israeli delegates actually meet face-to-face.

This transpires from the fact that there have been no calls by Syria's protegee, Lebanon, to convene a meeting of the group despite two recent incidents of reported shelling in villages north of the security zone by IDF and South Lebanese Army gunners.

Reports from Lebanon said that seven homes in Tibnit village were damaged and one set ablaze during heavy exchanges between Hizbullah and the IDF and SLA on Tuesday.

According to the reports, Lebanon did lodge a complaint with the monitoring group over the incident but did not request a meeting of the five-nation committee that was established to supervise the understandings reached at the end of Operation Grapes of Wrath last April.

There was more fighting in Lebanon yesterday morning when Hizbullah gunmen fired over 30

mortar rounds at the SLA's Hadatha position in the western sector of the zone.

There were no casualties and IDF gunners returned fire. Reports from Lebanon said a house in Ayt a-Zout village, north of the zone, was hit by the IDF return fire.

According to the reports, a mortar round crashed through the roof of the building and exploded, causing extensive damage while the four people inside at the time escaped unhurt.

Lebanese observers noted that in the past such incidents had been sufficient grounds for Lebanon to call for a meeting of the monitor-

ing group to discuss a protest over a breach by Israel of the understandings.

There have already been hints in the Lebanese press that Syria does not want to be seen to be engaged in any dialogue with Israel — including the monitoring group discussions — in line with the decisions the Arab League foreign ministers' meeting in Cairo earlier this week.

"It appears that the Syrians and Lebanese don't feel that the time is right to sit face-to-face with the Israeli delegation and for that reason are apparently avoiding calling for a meeting of the monitoring group," said a Lebanese observer.

## Syria: Netanyahu must be reined in

A Syrian government newspaper yesterday urged the Israeli public and the United States to "rein in" Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as the only way to salvage Middle East peace talks. The front-page editorial in the daily *Al-Baath* follows protests by Syria and other Arab states against plans by Netanyahu's government to build a Jewish housing project on Har Homa in southeastern Jerusalem.

In Cairo, a senior political adviser to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said on Wednesday that the total collapse of the Middle East peace process is a possibility.

"A nightmare scenario would be the death of the peace process... It is a possibility," said Osama Baz. *News agencies*

## Police probe 'Ma'ariv' link to Bar-On Affair

Agmon, Avi-Yitzhak give evidence

By RAINE MARCUS

Police investigating the Bar-On Affair will now also examine allegations by former Ma'ariv journalist Erez Rotem that the daily's publisher, Ofer Nimrodi, and his lawyer, Dan Avi-Yitzhak, were behind leaks to Channel 1, police said.

Rotem will be summoned to give evidence within the next few days, police officials said last night. David Agmon, former head of the Prime Minister's Office, and Avi-Yitzhak were summoned to give evidence yesterday.

Rotem alleged that Nimrodi pushed Avi-Yitzhak to become attorney-general last July, to help him in his ongoing trial in the media wiretapping case. Rotem, after leaving Ma'ariv under unclear circumstances, gave evidence to State Attorney Edna Arbel two weeks ago alleging that Nimrodi and Avi-Yitzhak were involved in irregularities.

Arbel passed on the evidence to Dep. Cmdr. Rami Zotler, who failed to update the investigating team. But now police are expected to summon Rotem, and if his evidence warrants it, Nimrodi and Avi-Yitzhak. Nimrodi and Avi-Yitzhak have vehemently denied all allegations and are threatening to sue Channel 2, which first

broadcast the report implicating them. Channel 2 stands by its story.



Erez Rotem (Brian Hendler)

Rotem, said sources, is currently negotiating employment at *Yedioth Aharonot*. Ma'ariv's bitter rival, but this could not be confirmed. Ma'ariv has claimed Rotem gave false evidence to police, because he was fired from the daily and had scores to settle.

Meanwhile, Gabi Boutbul, a Shas representative and a member of the IBA management, has filed a complaint to Jerusalem police over what he calls wiretapping.

Boutbul referred to a conversation between reporter Ayala Hasson and former Prime Minister's Office employee David Agmon, filmed at Hasson's request but without the knowledge of Agmon.

Hasson insists there is only one video tape of the conversation, which is in her possession, and thus the filming is not illegal.

Boutbul, however, alleges that if another tape is in the hands of a third party, Hasson has committed a criminal offense.

Yoram Kashi, parliamentary assistant to Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, was questioned yesterday on the Bar-On Affair, which was revealed nearly three months ago by Hasson. Kashi was questioned regarding phone calls made from the Justice Ministry.

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Information & Public Relations Department







# Meridor attacks pay excesses Government to sell 24% Bezeq stake

By DAVID HARRIS

Finance Minister Dan Meridor is to ask the cabinet this morning to approve a series of measures aimed at preventing public sector salaries from exceeding Treasury targets.

The proposals come as a result of the Public Bodies Salaries Report for 1995, which found that 62 percent of public-sector bodies paid excessive salaries.

Public-sector wages, especially of senior management, are increasing far too quickly, Treasury Wages and Labor Agreements director Yossi Kucik said on completing the report. The public-sector wage bill totalled NIS 24.2 billion in 1995.

Speaking yesterday before the Knesset State Control Committee,



Finance Minister Dan Meridor

Meridor said the government is gravely concerned over the excesses in pay, pensions, and

other unapproved benefits, which he attributed to "the non-existence of legislation and a lack of enforcement."

Meridor is expected to ask the cabinet to approve a study of legislation to stop the excesses, to be conducted by Kucik, the Treasury budget department, Accountant-General Shai Talmon, government ministries, the Civil Service Commission, and Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein.

Among the steps proposed by Meridor are:

- Government-budgeted and state-supervised bodies considered to be in breach of the Basic Law: Budget (Section 29) will not receive their full budget, or will have grants withheld.
- The establishment of a research body to investigate salary levels in

religious councils, higher education institutions, government companies, and similar bodies.

• The creation of a claims unit, comprising investigators and economists, to focus inquiries ahead of legal action.

• The setting up of an inter-ministerial committee to decide on the formulation of new legislation.

The Union of Local Authorities has vowed to fight the plan. Union chairman Adi Eldar yesterday called on ministers not to support Meridor's proposals. "This is simply scandalous," said Eldar.

Of the 658 bodies referred to in the Kucik report, 62 percent admitted to deviations of at least 5% between salaries paid and those the Treasury set as its annual target. The ratio admitting to such deviation in 1994 was 53%.

## Government to sell 24% Bezeq stake

By DAVID HARRIS

The government will reduce its stake in Bezeq to 52 percent before the end of the year, the ministerial committee on privatization decided yesterday. The government currently holds 76% of shares in the telecommunications company.

The 24% will be divested through means of flotations in either Tel Aviv or abroad, or possibly both, together with the sale of share bundles.

The remaining shares in the company are currently held by the public (14%) and British company Cable & Wireless (10%).

Questions still remain as to C&W's final stake in the company. The Communications Ministry has confirmed that C&W and the government may set up a controlling partnership in Bezeq, through a jointly owned stake in the company. It is rumored this would comprise a joint holding of 20% of Bezeq shares.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu expressed his belief during the meeting that the privatization process, of Bezeq and in general, must be carried out as swiftly as possible. Others in attendance were Finance Minister Dan Meridor, Communications Minister Limor Livnat, Government Companies Authority Director-General Tzipi Livni, Netanyahu's economic adviser Moshe Leon, Treasury Director-General Shmuel Slavin, Bezeq chairman Gurion Meltzer, and Acting Director-General Avi Hochman.

Leon has made it clear since he entered Netanyahu's office that he sees the sale of Bezeq as one of the top priorities in the government's privatization program.

The government has just completed the sale of 17% of Israel Chemicals Ltd for NIS 667m, and Yozma Venture Capital Ltd for NIS 50m. On Monday the Knesset Finance Committee is expected to approve the sale of the Israel School of Tourism.

### WEATHER

Location	Temp	Conditions
Haifa	12-20	Partly cloudy
Tiberias	12-22	Partly cloudy
Afula	11-21	Partly cloudy
Samaria	8-17	Partly cloudy
Tel Aviv	12-20	Partly cloudy
Jerusalem	7-17	Partly cloudy
Beer Sheva	9-22	Partly cloudy
Dead Sea	14-26	Partly cloudy
Eilat	15-29	Partly cloudy

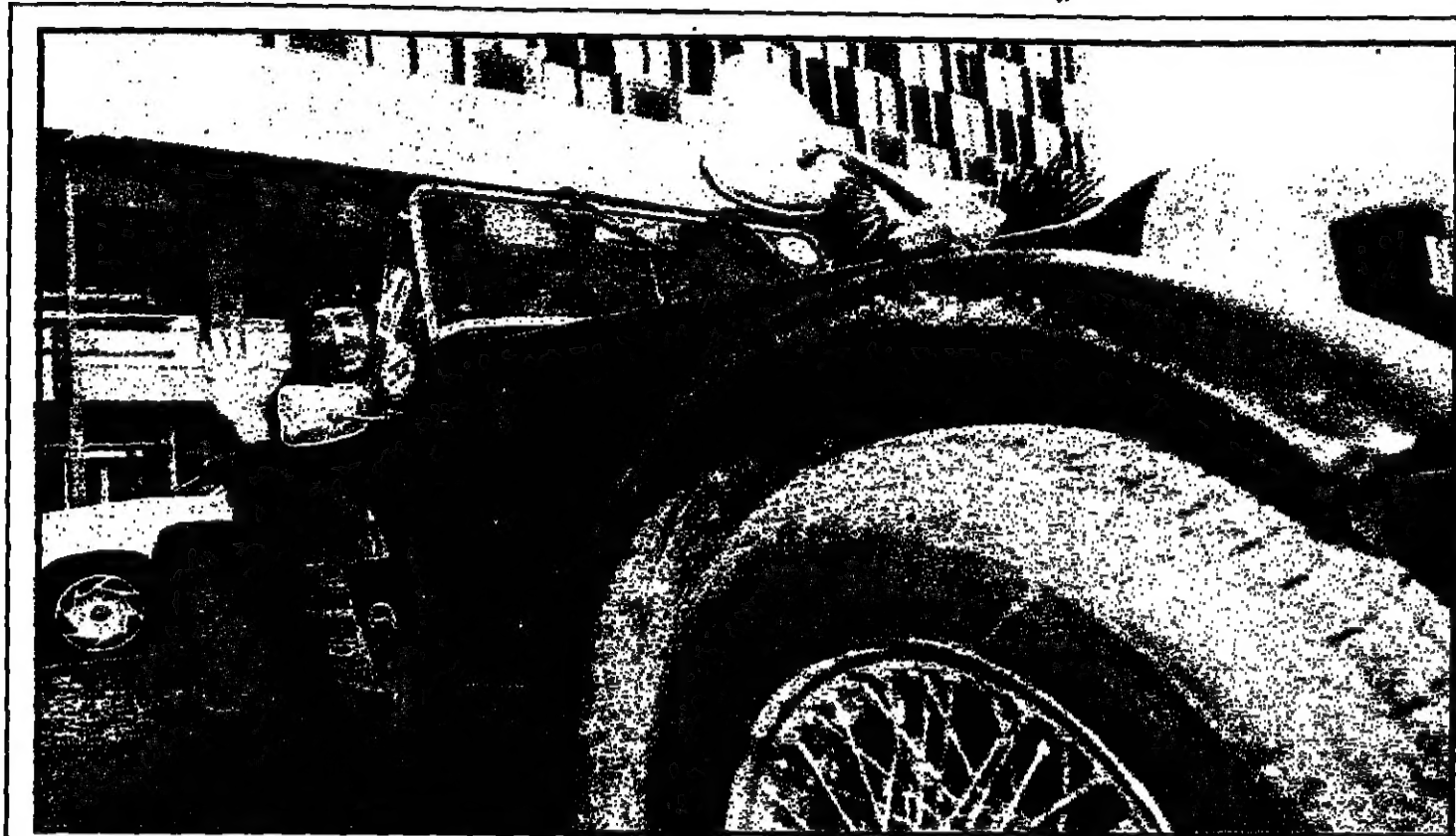
Forecast: Partly cloudy. Shabbat: Scattered showers in the north and central regions.

Forecast: Partly cloudy. Shabbat: Scattered showers in the north and central regions.

### AROUND THE WORLD

Location	Low	High	Conditions
Amsterdam	10	12	cloudy
Berlin	8	10	cloudy
Buenos Aires	12	18	clear
Card	11	15	cloudy
Chicago	11	15	rain
Copenhagen	10	12	cloudy
Frankfurt	10	12	cloudy
Geneva	10	12	cloudy
Helsinki	10	12	cloudy
Hong Kong	22	28	clear
Jaipur	10	12	clear
London	10	12	cloudy
Los Angeles	10	12	cloudy
Madrid	10	12	clear
Moscow	10	12	cloudy
Mumbai	10	12	cloudy
Paris	10	12	cloudy
Peking	10	12	cloudy
Roskilde	10	12	cloudy
Sydney	10	12	rain
Tokyo	10	12	cloudy
Toronto	10	12	cloudy
Vienna	10	12	cloudy
Zurich	10	12	cloudy

### DRIVE CAREFULLY



Long and winding road

Georg Magerlein waves yesterday in Tel Aviv from the cockpit of his classic Triumph, one of 25 vintage cars participating in this year's 6,000 km. Near East Rally from Frankfurt to Amman and back.

(Dana Stern/Israel Sun)

## New Bezeq chief named

By JUDY SIEGEL

Bezeq's board of directors finally named a new director-general yesterday, choosing Arni Erel, a 50-year-old electronics engineer. During the last seven years, Erel has headed the Idan-Elitech Group, which controls private companies that supply telecommunications products and services.

The director-general's chair has been vacant for over a month, since a Justice Ministry-appointed committee ruled that the previous nominee, lawyer Yoram Turbowicz, would have to wait a year before moving from the government's Antitrust Authority to the public telecommunications company. He chose not to appeal the ruling.

Communications Minister Limor Livnat, who met Erel for the first time recently, endorsed his nomination - saying he was undoubtedly qualified to run the country's largest company and lead it into the new era of competition - as did Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who is formally responsible for state companies. Livnat had been an active promoter of Turbowicz, but this time she decided to take a more passive approach, accepting the name raised by Bezeq's board.

The nomination was welcomed by Bezeq chairman Gurion Meltzer; it must still be approved by the Ben-

Dror Committee on appointments to state companies.

Erel, a relative unknown, was recommended by a committee of six board members who were initially presented with 19 names. They cut the list down to four - Erel, Shimon Alon of Scitex, Moshe Ronen of Arutzei Zabav and Bezeq deputy director-general Avi Hochman. Ronen dropped out, and there was some opposition in the Communications Ministry to the insider, Hochman, who has been acting director-general since the ruling

on Turbowicz.

According to Bezeq, Erel gained much experience at Idan-Elitech in the telecommunications field; he established Elitech Speaking Systems, a company competing in the market of designing, operating and maintaining business communications systems and switchboards, as well as Adic, which provides phone, fax and dialing card services between Israel and other countries.

He was previously deputy marketing manager of Telrad for five years.

## TA bombing caused cell phone collapse

The Communications Ministry said yesterday that Pelephone's cellular phone service "collapsed for a short time" after the Apropa cafe bomb blast in Tel Aviv two weeks ago, due to the large number of phone calls.

The ministry investigated the functioning and quality of service of Bezeq, Cellcom and Pelephone in the wake of the tragedy.

Ministry spokeswoman Ayala Bar at first would only say that the problem occurred in "one of the two cellular phone companies, but after hearing protests from Cellcom - whose infrastructure stood up to the demand - it was decided to name Pelephone.

Pelephone spokeswoman Ayelet Gradman said the bomb blast triggered "unprecedented use" of its cell phones, especially because the security and rescue forces use Pelephone as do many local and foreign journalists. Despite this heavy use, she said, "Pelephone is proud that our communications system withstood it." J.S.

## Gordon defends IDF immigrant policy

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Defending the IDF's role in absorbing Ethiopians, Jewish Agency Aliya Department head Uri Gordon yesterday said the army does "a great deal, and successfully, in handling immigrants and especially Ethiopian immigrants, including preparation before induction, during their service and afterwards."

Gordon said the outcry over the mistreatment of Cpl. Avi Azenbare by an IDF officer and the severe criticism of the army that followed had led him to react.

"Any commission of inquiry established in the wake of the incident will conclude that the IDF does not neglect Ethiopian soldiers, and we must not reach conclusions based on isolated, exceptional cases - serious as they may be - regarding the IDF's work as a whole," he said.

"There is no racism in the IDF, and these cases do not represent a phenomenon but are isolated aberrations which must be condemned, but we must not stain the entire IDF. Every racist statement is disturbing and angers us, but there is no racist approach in the IDF, and we must not exploit this unfortunate incident and attribute it to the IDF in general," said Gordon in a statement.

"The matter of this officer must be investigated, and conclusions drawn. There's no doubt about that," he

said: "But we must not focus on the 'punishment.' We must look for the root of the problem and find the proper answers. All of us, including

the IDF, must show greater sensitivity regarding treatment of immigrants, especially Ethiopian immigrants."

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